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The Discursive Construction of Child Sexual Abuse

Thesis submitted for degree of Doctor of
Philosophy. School of Health and Social
Welfare, The Open University

VOLUMES I & II

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ABSTRACT

Currently in the English speaking world adult/child sex and knowledge about it has become firmly located within a taken-for-granted 'child sexual abuse' discourse. My argument in this thesis is that despite being commonly portrayed as a singularity, the discursive arena of adult/child sex is a site of controversy and conflict, invested with meanings that differ over time and place. Child sexual abuse cannot thus be thought of as something that exists outside of the situated knowledge through which its taken-for-granted nature is brought into being and maintained. A stated aim of this thesis is, therefore, to explore some of the complex, heterogeneous and nuanced ways in which adult/child sex is put into discourse as child sexual abuse.

The analytics of Beryl Curt and Michel Foucault were applied to Q Methodology, participant observation and a range of ethnographically informed methodologies. The Q Methodological study revealed five explanatory accounts. These were explicated as a *Mainstream Professional Account*; *Boy-Love*; *A Liberal Account of Child Sexual Abuse*; *Sexual Abuse as Paraphilia* and a *Feminist Informed Account*. The Q study also revealed three standpoints on child sexual abuse: *Feminist/Child Protectionist*; *Social Constructionist/Children's Rights*; and *Childhood Sexuality*. Three alternative viewpoints on the social policies that should be adopted in this area were also identified in this study. These were explicated as *Libertarian*; *Control and Protect* and *Liberal Humanism*. Also examined were the performative aspects of the phenomenon of child sexual abuse through an interrogation of the subject position that are available (to survivors of sexual abuse, convicted child sex offenders and those who advocate adult/child sexual contact), to be adopted, resisted or reformed. The thesis ends with a review of the main findings of my research in terms of theory, practice and research in the area of child sexual abuse. It also examines methodological issues and reflects upon my own experiences of conducting this work.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This chapter is divided into two parts. Section 1 sets out the main research questions that the thesis seeks to address. It begins with a short account of how, within contemporary, mainstream English-speaking culture, adult/child sex has come to be constituted as synonymous with 'child sexual abuse' and regarded as a serious social problem. Then follows a summary of the challenge that this thesis presents to this singularising mainstream story. This Section specifies the main research tasks that have been undertaken to 'problematise the problem' and to explore how and why the notion of 'child sexual abuse' has become *the* dominant discourse through which adult/child sex has come to be understood, and the consequences of this discursive dominance.

Section 2 reviews the theoretical concepts that have informed this thesis, and explains how they bear upon the research undertaken. It consists of three sub-sections. The first explores the modernist agenda of the human sciences, their creation of the human 'subject' and their warrant to governmentality. In the second the emergent climate of critical polytextualist perturbation which challenges this modernist agenda is described. The final sub-section examines the importance of sex and sexuality as mechanisms of governmentality, normalisation and 'knowledging into being' of the subject.

SECTION 1: THE AIMS AND TASKS OF THE THESIS

Setting the scene – the emergence of 'child sexual abuse' as a serious social problem

Within the English-speaking world over the past three decades or so, we have come to think and speak about the various ways in which children may be 'abused'. Put another way, in this cultural location and at this time, 'child abuse' has come to be *the* way in which certain kinds of actions towards children are understood, and to be regarded as a serious social problem demanding action.

Within this formulation, whilst a wide diversity of harms to children (such as pollutants in the environment which are seen to harm children's health) figure amongst our understandings of abuse, what, by far, attracts the most attention are the kinds of abuse where we can locate an abuser – where a perpetrator can be identified, and can be held morally accountable for the abuse. Abuse of this kind includes emotional and physical neglect, physical abuse, emotional abuse and sexual abuse (see, for example, Birchall and Hallett, 1995).

Over the last twenty or so years a hegemonic discourse has emerged in which all forms of adult/child sex have become constituted as 'child sexual abuse'. This has become a dominant preoccupation, both among welfare professionals and the general public. Estimates of its wide prevalence (see, for example, Finkelhor, 1979, 1984, 1986 in the USA; Baker and Duncan, 1985 and Kelly, Regan and Burton, 1992, in the UK) and of the gravity and long-term nature of the damage it can do to children (see, for example, Cahill and Llewellyn, 1991; Kendall-Tackett, Williams and Finkelhor, 1993) have provided the basis from which to argue that very large numbers of children are sexually abused (and thereby severely harmed). This has fuelled high levels of concern, leading to child sexual abuse

being regarded today as one of the most pernicious and serious social problems that need to be tackled.

The impact of this preoccupation over child sexual abuse is far-reaching. It has affected not only a large number of people who have been identified as victims and as perpetrators, but also very many more children, families and child-care workers who are engaged in investigations of child sexual abuse (see, for example, Thorpe, 1994; Parton, Thorpe and Wattam, 1997). Moreover, concern about sexual abuse has radically altered the way that many (perhaps the majority) of adults interact with children with, for example, professional bodies advising their members to avoid any situations which could possibly give rise to an accusation or suspicion of abuse, and many parents (especially fathers) altering the way in which they behave to their children.

The construction of a singularised 'truth' – narratives of danger and damage

Given this level of concern, it is not at all surprising that we are seeing a proliferation of competing accounts of how and why child sexual abuse happens, of the processes that are involved in its perpetration, and about the best ways to tackle the problem. Yet while there is some diversity over the particularities of the stories that are told, there is a strong general consensus that this behaviour – i.e. any sexual contact between adults and children – is very seriously *wrong*. As Hacking has noted '[a]side from genocide, child abuse is nowadays the clearest example of absolute wrong' (Hacking, 1988: 53).

This high degree of consensus about the absolute 'wrongness' of adult/child sex is reiterated and reinforced in a number of ways. Alongside media reports about specific child sexual abuse cases, and articles and television programmes arguing the likelihood of many more cases going undetected, the consensual motif of the wrongness of what is now constituted as child sexual abuse is reproduced through texts which highlight danger and risk; which portray – often in highly emotionally

charged terms – the predatory nature of abusers and the grim risks posed by those who ‘collude’ with or fail to prevent abuse.

Such texts include a large number which enact the ‘performance of damage’ (in the sense in which Butler, 1990, uses the term ‘performance’). These include a large number of first-hand accounts by adult survivors of abuse, and a growing number of ‘docu-drama’ presentations which seek to ‘bring home’ to people the horrors of ‘what really happens’. Such ‘performance of damage’ portrayals of lived-experience have provided a powerful means of cultural transmission of the singularised story that adult/child sex is inherently abusive and invariably harmful. Framed by this discourse of damage and danger, the experiences of once-silenced and once-invisible abuse survivors are acted out within a variety of media (including films, articles, books and television programmes including news items and chat-shows), where audiences *en masse* are encouraged to bear witness to the testimonies of horror, and to the seriousness of the damage caused by child sexual abuse.

Child protection workers and other professionals working in the field, together with a number of feminists, all use their experience of face-to-face work with those positioned as ‘survivors of sexual abuse’ (and, in some cases, their own experiences of having been abused themselves in childhood) to describe the dangers of child sexual abuse and of child sexual abusers. This presentation usually involves re-telling the stories of the abused, in so doing delineating and redefining the contours of the case being made and, crucially, mandating interventions of various kinds. As Clegg (1994:33) has observed, in this way ‘the definitions employed by the child protectionists are transferred into scientific research on the basis of their moral authority’.

These narratives of danger and damage, as expressed with reference to lived experience, produce powerful ‘truths’ – unassailable, incontrovertible facts-about-the-world – which are presented and generally accepted as the *only* legitimate

way of understanding adult/child sex. So potent is the imagery, so compelling the emotional 'grip' exerted by these performances, the exposition of these 'truths' denies and disallows a consideration of the manifold of alternative ways in which adult/child sex could be understood. The effect is to render any interrogation of the 'truths' as unnecessary and unallowable. The 'truths' thus attain axiomatic status. They have become so enmeshed within a singularised rhetorical system that other forms of analysis (for example, Foucault's exploration of child sexuality as a means of government and regulation) are rendered as, if not 'unthinkable', at least 'unsayable'. In short, knowledge about adult/child sexual contact has become, for the vast majority of people in the English-speaking world, simplified – reduced to a single story of horror and harm, of absolute wrongfulness, which countenances no other understanding.

Simplification, however, is not only a matter of prioritising one account and disallowing others in mere epistemological terms. It also involves a powerful call to ethics and morality. Guba and Lincoln (1989) express the impact of this process of simplification well in their analysis of the difference between positivist and constructivist research:

Convinced that there exists one single, true reality ... positivists reject all relativist views, of which constructivism is one, as not only seriously in error but pernicious and repugnant. (Guba and Lincoln, 1989:16)

In other words, what constitutes 'truth' becomes not simply a question of veracity, but of moral rectitude. In this way we have arrived at a situation where, within the mainstream of both professional/academic wisdom and public opinion, any understanding of adult/child sex outside of these narratives of danger and damage has come to be regarded as 'pernicious and repugnant'.

Challenging the mainstream construction

Within this rather daunting context it is extremely difficult to offer any challenge to the prevailing orthodoxy over child sexual abuse. Yet this is what this thesis seeks to do. Despite the risks involved (not least the risk of being accused of colluding with and promoting paedophilic predation on children), in this thesis I propose to undertake three main tasks:

1. to explore the ways in which adult/child sex has come to be constituted as 'child sexual abuse', and how this singularised account has entered into and operates within popular, academic and professional discourse;
2. to document and describe the network of cultural assumptions that form (that is, in-form, re-form and de-form) the discursive architecture surrounding the concept of 'child sexual abuse' in these settings;
3. to describe the subject-positions that are constituted by and mobilised through such discourses, and the impact upon them of being so constituted.

These do not represent separate, progressive phases of the thesis, but are overlapping, intertwined, knotted together and inseparable.

To attempt these tasks is not intended in any way to discount that large numbers of children are subjected to sexual assaults. Nor is it to deny that these assaults may be harmful to the children concerned, in the long and the short term. Rather it is to suggest that the *truths* of child sexual abuse are not simple, universal or transparent. What I intend to do in this thesis is to problematise the 'problem' of child sexual abuse, in order to examine the way it has come to be constituted as such a serious social concern, and the ways in which the constitution of this concern leads to particular interventions and other social practices of various kinds. To approach 'child sexual abuse' uncritically and unreflexively – as, so often, it is treated by the mainstream, dominant discourse – leads, I believe, to

dogmatic forms of intervention, which often do little to help (and may sometimes do harm to) the children who are purported to be 'protected'.

The questions I have carved out examine the simplifying certainties inherent in contemporary formulations of adult/child sex as inevitably abusive. These questions urge us to 'think more about how we think' (Lather, 1989) about child sexual abuse. In this I am adopting what Parton, Thorpe and Wattam (*op cit*) identify as a social constructionist approach. As they argue:

Constructionists are concerned with trying to account for the emergence, maintenance, history and conceptualisation of what is defined as child abuse (Parton, Thorpe and Wattam, 1997: 70).

And, as they further assert,

The aim [is] not to 'rubbish' different points of view, nor to expose the world as something that doesn't exist. ... It involves no more than the supposition that to speak of 'what passes for knowledge in society is to give an account of the nature of knowledge' (Shorrock and Coleman, in press). ... It is not just to say that there is something labelled 'abuse' and that the label changes between time / culture / place; rather it is to keep a clear methodological position which directs attention to how the term 'works' in a given culture. (Parton, Thorpe and Wattam, 1997:72-3)

This is precisely the endeavour this thesis undertakes, specifically in relation to child sexual abuse. It consists of an examination of 'what passes for knowledge' (cf. Berger and Luckman, 1967) in a situation where child sexual abuse has been 'knowledgeed into being' as *the* means to make sense of adult/child sex. It seeks to do this by identifying, describing and explicating the discourses through which this 'knowledge' has been constituted, and is currently being promoted, transmitted and maintained.

Examining the textual ecology of adult/child sex

This thesis identifies and examines a number of different ways in which adult/child sex is understood within the broad field of British culture. It looks, in particular, at

how 'child sexual abuse' has become the dominant construction through which adult/child sex has come to be made sense of - as a powerfully '*real*' phenomenon; and as the only legitimate understanding through which adult/child sex *should* be construed. Having done that, it then explicates the competing accounts that, while subservient to and marginalised by this dominant, mainstream discourse, nevertheless continue to operate. The thesis then uses consideration of these competing alternative accounts to critically review the risks and downside costs of the 'child sexual abuse' construction.

I have done this through an examination of the ecology of discourses pertaining to adult/child sex that are currently operating within a broad range of settings, including in popular culture, the professional and academic milieux, and in political and moral debates. Specifically I attempt to elucidate how these different discourses each seeks to do some or all of the following:

- how each discourse *defines* adult/child sex;
- how each discourse *explains* how and why adults engage in sex with children;
- what each discourse sees as the *consequences* of adults engaging in sex with children;
- what *actions* each discourse *prescribes* – what action they regard as needing to be taken when adults engage in sex with children;
- the *moral and ideological agendas* that are set by each discourse in relation to adult/child sex.

The approach I have taken is taxonomic, and the analogy of exploring the 'discursive ecology' (cf. Curt, 1994) of this topic is apposite. My goal, in this aspect of the thesis, has been to document and describe competing discourses, not to make judgements about their 'truth value' or epistemological validity. The goal is not to try to work out which of these discourses is most accurate or most valid, but

rather (like the ecologist) to consider *why* each one occupies its particular niche and what it is 'doing' there. Drawing on a set of ideas influenced by Foucault (e.g. 1980, 1990), Mulkay (1985) and Curt (1994) the research questions I attempt to answer are about *function*. For each one I seek to discern:

- What action does it warrant? What does it allow people to say and do? And what does it prevent them saying and doing?
- Whose interests does it serve? And whose interests does it act against or threaten?

In Parton, Thorpe and Wattam's (*op cit*) terms, I am seeking to discover how each of these discourses 'is useful, and how it is used ... [and] how it *works*' (p. 73).

My approach will therefore explore how people attempt to "make sense" of adult/child sex 'by drawing upon the plurality of stories available to them within their culture, communities and social groups' (Stainton Rogers, Stenner, Gleeson and Stainton Rogers, 1995: 265). I will also examine the policies that are implied and mandated by constituting adult/child sex in particular ways. Specifically I will focus on the implications of the mainstream account. In this way I will show that rather than the homogeneity and linearity that is often assumed within the simplified 'truths' encapsulated within the dominant discourse in which adult/child sex is treated as synonymous with child sexual abuse, this discourse is complicated, heterogeneous and cannot be divorced from the discursive practices which have 'storied it into being' (Stainton Rogers and Stainton Rogers, 1992) as a socially constructed product of human agency.

Examining the tectonics of discourses on adult/child sex

In addition to examining the textuality of discourses, this thesis is crucially concerned with the tectonic activity *between* discourses (cf. Curt, 1994). In this thesis I will argue that new discourses never emerge *de novo*. Every discourse

consists of a complex fabric made up of interwoven assumptions and ideas that have been gleaned from the wider cultural stock of assumptions and ideas. This process is a matter of scavenging not creation. Equally my position is that discourses are continually informed (and indeed re-formed and de-formed) by the discursive architecture surrounding them – by the ‘shapes’ and ‘movements’ of the other discourses which occupy the adjacent ground – all of which takes place within a dynamic setting that is continually shifting and changing (which is why the metaphor of ‘tectonics’ is useful). When I undertook this thesis I was particularly interested in two main questions about discursive tectonics.

First, I wanted to understand how and why the mainstream discourse outlined earlier in this Section came to be dominant, and how and why other discourses on adult/child sex came to be silenced or subjugated (Foucault, 1980) in the process. Second, I was curious to explore how and why – at this particular time and in this particular place – the simplification of knowledge about ‘child sexual abuse’ earlier described took place. The aim is to discover what ‘seismic shift’ in worldview led to the current position where not only is this virtually ‘the only story around’, but it is also so very restricted and absolute. Here I have sought to explore how such singularity has been (in)formed by wider discourses and discursive practices, grounded themselves in simplified truths about ‘normality’. In this context I have sought to examine the ways in which the construction of child sexual abuse as ‘abnormal’ is itself predicated upon broader assumptions about ‘normal childhoods’ and ‘normal sexualities’.

Examining the subject-positions that are constituted in and mobilised through discourses on adult/child sex.

Discourses of damage and danger make far-reaching assumptions about the subjects of which they speak. The mainstream discourse makes the claim that all adults who express a sexual interest in and/or who have had sexual contacts with children are uniquely *dangerous* – they invite particularly serious concern.

Likewise, children are assumed to be at risk of serious and irreparable damage by any contact at all with these dangerous subjects. As Parton, Thorpe and Wattam (*op cit*) point out 'even apparently minor instances of sexual assault are accepted in orthodox literature as potentially serious in outcome ... all sexual contact between an adult and a child can be serious' (p. 190).

In this thesis I explore the implications of this subject positioning of adults who have or seek to have sexual contact with children as dangerous, and of those who, as children, had sexual contact with adults as victimised. This I do by examining the discursive textuality and tectonics that operate in three main settings – an educational programme for men convicted of sexual assaults on children run in HMP Grendon; a self-help group for 'survivors' of sexual abuse; and interviews conducted with a self-identified paedophile. By examining the interplay between the subject positions of 'abuser' versus 'reformed character, of 'victim' versus 'survivor' and the alternative subject position of 'boy-lover', my aim has been to expose the discursive dynamics in play between the different discourses. Specifically, this work offers an alternative means for scrutinising the practical and ethical consequences for those so positioned.

SECTION 2: THEORETICAL UNDERPINNINGS

The agenda of the human and the social sciences and the creation and government of the subject.

In order to be in a position to address the questions posed in Section 1, it is necessary to place them in a socio-historical context. Such 'singularised truths' as those constituted within the dominant mainstream discourse on adult/child sex have not been 'storied into being' in some discursive vacuum, but within a much broader discursive landscape, a landscape that has been sculpted by and through a climate of modernism. This 'climate' provided the conditions that encouraged the growth of science and its expansion into the human social world. In so doing, new understandings were devised about what came to pass as knowledge about human beings and being human; that is, how people came to be constituted as 'subjects'. This section explores this creation of the subject, and the ways in which the new human and social sciences have come to provide both a means and a warrant for governance of that subject. In particular it looks at how modernity achieved, in its own terms, the dissolution of the enchanted links between the self and the world, replacing them instead with rational links through which universal 'truths' could be discovered and established via the proper application of reason – and its corollary, science. It considers how the human subject of these modern discourses was endowed with particular forms of facticity, agency and knowability through being unified and rational, and how, in so doing, modernism translated difference into deviance.

The Enlightenment Project

From a perspective that refutes 'grand narratives' there can be no linear, authoritative version of what the Enlightenment was and what it enabled. For Adorno and Horkheimer (1992) the Enlightenment can be characterised as a

particular set of stories that are told in relation to the ways in which certain European societies progressed to 'civilisation'. This story generally told is of an 'up the mountain story' of progress (c.f. Rorty, 1980), a complex sequence of events and historical changes in epistemology akin to a form of 'intellectual Darwinism' (c.f. Stainton Rogers et al, 1995) in which 'sound, rational knowledge' drives out unsound, irrational dogma and superstition'. The story goes that, beginning 'in the dark ages' which were dominated by belief in a magical world, 'what passed for knowledge' progressed first to knowledge gained by recourse to religion. The next stage on was the Enlightenment, where knowledge is seen to be gained from science (c.f. Douglas, 1965). Located at around the mid- to late-eighteenth-century (Harvey, 1989 suggests approximately 1770) Enlightenment philosophies and practices sought to demystify and de-centre the enchanted world of Faith, where Faith involved a passive understanding of God's mythical world that could neither be fully understood by people nor changed by them (Bennett, 1987).

The Enlightened thinkers of the time marked such disenchantment through a philosophically-informed way of life that aimed to move through mastery of 'the "darkness" of myth and superstition to the "light" of reason and scientific truth' (Stainton Rogers et al, 1995: 16; see also Adorno and Horkheimer, 1992). The aim of what has become known as 'the Enlightenment Project' was to render the world calculable, predictable and at the disposal of people through the deployment of rationality, naming and knowing, where naming and knowing were properly approached through reason. Reason could be represented by, or substituted for, 'the number'; and the demystifying certainty of 'the number' became the Canon of the Enlightenment (Adorno and Horkheimer, 1992).

Modernity and the construction of the subject

The application of this enlightened search for certainty, heralding with it the scientific attitude, became characteristic of the Enlightenment Project, where anything 'real' was deemed to be within its grasp. The scope and procedures of

science came to be seen as capable of being extended to the human subject (who became now both the subject and object of scientific knowledge). The subject was seen to be essential, material and possessed of universal laws; laws that were calculable, predicable and ultimately controllable, just like the objects observed in the newly mastered, disenchanted world of nature. In short, these approaches, now called *modernity*, heralded the birth of the 'sciences of man'.

There is currently much debate around the various ways in which modernity is to be understood (for example whether modernity does or does not represent a distinct historical epoch; whether we are currently experiencing a period of late modernity or postmodernity). My preferred reading takes modernity to be a *zeitgeist* or 'discursive climate' in which:

- Western thought and reason hold a dominant position over all other forms of thought (e.g. Racevskis, 1993; Said, 1991);
- Enlightenment philosophies hold a dominant position over all other ethical systems (e.g. Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1982);
- particular kinds of disciplinary institutions, practices, and discourses legitimate certain modes of domination and control (e.g. Foucault, 1970, 1972 and 1980).

Within this *zeitgeist* of modernity, all life (including human social life) came to be seen as locatable within a frame that was no longer considered random, a frame of rationality which can be focused upon establishing the sovereignty and absolute freedom of people operating in a knowable and predictable world. This outcome could be achieved, it was assumed, through the development of a society that would guarantee individual liberties and human welfare – a common good. Social and political laws and conventions were set up to service this assumed common good through the creation of ordered, regulated and harmonious societies (Anderson, Hughes and Sharrock, 1986).

Knowledge, in the form constituted through the empirical sciences, was seen to be able to transform society into a rational, healthy and affluent culture, with the capacity to progress its members from 'oppression' and misery towards an utopian and consensually construed goal of betterment and liberation: emancipation. Ignorance, within this enlightened scheme, was assumed to be a major source of human oppression and misery. It was also viewed as open to alleviation through the harnessing of knowledge, reason and science in the service of people (Bennett, 1987).

Regulation and the construction of deviance

Enlightenment thinkers, through their attempts to establish the laws of human behaviour and correct practice (and, indeed, correctional practices) engaged in a range of social, political and cultural transformations in the period of early modernism. In so doing they conceptually reduced the multiplicity of human experience and practice into a simpler, rationalised configuration.

Modern life and the subject were now brought into the sphere of administration. For Foucault (1990) this represented the repressive turn in the Enlightenment practices, towards surveillance and control, government and normalisation. Henriqués, Hollway, Urwin, Venn and Walkerdine (1984) indicate, with respect to psychology, that singularising of this kind:

regulates, classifies and administers – produces regulative devices which form us as objects of child development, schooling, welfare agencies, medicine. This produces subjectivities as well as objects. (Henriqués et al, 1984:1)

According to Dreyfus and Rabinow such regulatory praxes not only define what is normal but:

at the same time they define practices which fall outside their system as deviant behaviour in need of normalisation. Thus, although neither the scientific nor the social paradigm has any intrinsic validity, by determining what counts as a problem to be solved and what counts as a

solution, they set up normal science and normal society as totalizing fields of activity which continually extend their range of prediction and control. (Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1982:198)

One important and obvious effect of the thematisation of the modern age – the construction of the self-contained, unified, rational subject – is thus the production of otherness and difference; of subjects who defy, resist or fail to fit in with the dominant construction of the 'authentic personhood' thematic. Yet the perceived need to deal with otherness within this scheme was, as Harvey points out, highly selective:

The sordid facts of the slave trade and the subjugation of women passed Enlightenment thinkers by with hardly a murmur of protest. The problem with Enlightenment thought was not that it had no conception of 'the other' but that it perceived the other as having a specific place in the spatial order that was ethnocentrically conceived to have homogeneous and absolute qualities. (Harvey, 1989: 252).

Thus reason, while being regarded by modernism's champions as the source of progress and emancipation, can also be seen to have acted as a privileged locus of selective truth. Its purported foundational status as the source of systematic knowledge was, in practice, a means to maintain and justify the power of the elite. Reason, while deemed competent to discover adequate theoretical and practical norms upon which systems of thought and action could be built and society could be restructured, served not as the emancipatory force it was heralded to be, but as a means of government, regulation and control (Best and Kellner, 1991).

This works because, within modernism's rationality, to accord a certain individual or group or activity the status of 'deviant' provides a mandate 'to do something about them/it'. In other words, not only is otherness constructed through modernism, but so too is the requirement to act upon it. The subtle operations of modernism's rationality upon social life thus created irrationalities and abnormalities that were held to be in need of regulation, apprehension and/or punishment. Such thematization turns difference into deviance and unreason. Unreason, argues Bennett, is 'reconstituted as the irrational in need of rigorous

prevention, detection, inspection, intervention, therapy, treatment, cure, defeat.' (Bennett, 1987: 46).

Implications for the thesis

If we apply these ideas to the subject matter of this thesis, we can see that the discourses of danger and damage that operate in the concourse (cf. Stephenson, 1965; Curt, 1994) of ideas surrounding adult/child sex will have been formed, informed and reformed by other concourses. These include those operating institutionally (for example, by way of legal statutes and other codifications such as Government Regulations); within professional settings (such as medicine, counselling and social work); in academic milieux (mainly in the human and social sciences, and in the psy-disciplines particularly); and throughout broader public and private 'ordinary life' (from the outpourings of the mass media to intimate conversations between families, friends and lovers). The majority of these are sited, squarely, within the climate of modernism (though some originate and operate largely outwith modernism – for example, certain sets of religious beliefs) which pivot around notions of 'normality' and make *moral* discriminations between what is constituted as 'normal' from that which is constituted as 'abnormal'.

The climate of perturbation and its analytics

Within the human and the social sciences, modernism has given rise to technoscientific, empiricist discourses which assert that social phenomena – including social problems – are only know-about-able through the methods and theorisation of science. However, science's particular brand of metaphysical theorising has, in recent times, been subjected to a number of critiques. These critiques have arisen in many quarters, including from within the human and the social sciences themselves and from the newly formed hybrid and transdisciplinary approaches such as 'cultural studies'.

They all offer somewhat different 'takes' on the ills of modernity and alternative forms of critique (which is what we would expect, given that modernity itself is neither straightforward nor unitary). Many of these critiques have been assumed under the umbrella terms of *postmodern* and/or *poststructuralist*. Such naming is problematic as it implies an apparent distance from modernism – that critical endeavours are somehow free from the Enlightenment assumptions they purport to disrupt (c.f. Harding, 1990). This is clearly evidenced by Rabinow's attempt to situate modernity as a stratum layered between pre- and post-modernity:

Modernity is often spoken of as an epoch, or at least as a set of features characteristic of an epoch; situated on a calendar it would be preceded by a more or less naive or archaic premodernity and followed by an enigmatic and troubling 'postmodernity' (Rabinow, 1991:39).

Graham (1992) identifies three main paradoxes of postmodernism. First she states that it can be argued that postmodernism does not represent anything new, but merely a fragmentation of modernism. Second, she points out that postmodernism has tended to be interpreted as an explain-all 'grand theory', which is paradoxical since postmodern theorising rejects as untenable all such totalising analytics, viewing all knowledge as local and contingent and never subsumable to universal laws. Finally she draws attention to the way that its very name – *postmodernism* – implies an historical progression, also itself an anathema to postmodern theorising.

Another common label, social constructionism, while avoiding this periodicity paradox, falls prey not only to that of being treated as an explain-all, but also to reifying 'the social' and largely simplifying materiality out of consideration (see, for example, Butler, 1992). The term 'discourse analysis' is also often included in critical approaches but, as Curt (1994) has pointed out, while it offers a potent means of analysing texts clearly derived from and guided by a range of critical theories, it is less helpful as a critical analytic itself.

A climate of perturbation

Stainton Rogers et al (1995) suggest that a better term for this critical forum is a 'climate of perturbation'. This more minimalist description invites less interpretation (and hence less opportunity for misinterpretation), and merely brings together those approaches which seek to perturbate or 'stir up' received ideas, including the received ideas of other critical approaches.

This perturbing agenda begins by calling into question the possibility of discovering 'facts-about-the-world' that are independent from human agency, and the objectivity and neutrality of the scientific processes involved. Rather than seeing it as a set of practices that reveal 'true knowledge', it views science as a value-laden and ideological enterprise (c.f. Haraway, 1992; Mulkay, 1985). Specifically, it offers a critique of the way that the modernist discourses of science act to totalise – to singularise and simplify – knowledge, and to present their own knowledge as the only 'true' knowledge around, discounting as inadequate or incomplete all other knowledges. By contrast, critical approaches assert that what is important and valuable, in human terms, may not be accessible to science, and may indeed be obscured and discounted by it (cf. Wetherell, 1996).

Fundamental to the climate of perturbation is its challenge to the authority of those forms of reason that prioritise and authorise certain ways of knowing, in particular the male, Western worldview which is currently dominant within modernism (c.f. Butler, 1990; Sampson, 1993a; Said, 1991). It refutes the claims of modernism to be emancipatory, and points out that both its theorisation and, in particular, its praxes, in addition to harnessing 'science' for democratic, anti-racist, ecologically sound, ant-militarist and other progressive ends (cf. Habermas, 1989) can also be oppressive, excluding and discriminatory. Rather than (as it purports to do) 'solving' all problems, modernism is also seen as creating some of them by bringing them into being as problems – by, for example, creating forms of 'deviance' which then 'need to be tackled' (Foucault, 1980, 1990).

The climate of perturbation approach asserts that we never encounter social worlds, social events, social problems or, indeed, society itself unmediated by the meanings that are given to them. These meanings are constructed through language or other forms of representation, and hence are always products of representational labour. Moreover, the troubling includes shaking up modernism's construction of the subject. Dreyfus and Rabinow express this well when they argue that 'the foothold that we have over the human subject is no longer universal, guaranteed, unified or grounded' (*ibid*, 1989:115).

Critical polytextualism

Perturbation, however, is not simply a matter of 'making trouble'. It involves applying new kinds of analytics to the processes and products of representational labour, albeit analytics based upon a theoretical minimalism. For me, and for the work with which I am engaged, this theoretical minimalism is best approached through critical polytextualism. Curt adopts this term

to emphasize both the multiplicity of texts we see in operation, and the importance of addressing their properties, operation and consequences from a critical stance (i.e. one which is always alert to notions of power/knowledge synarchy). (*ibid*, 1994: 13)

Before looking at these it is necessary to examine their precursors – the analytics devised by Foucault which inform so much of 'climate of perturbation' work.

Foucaultian analytics

In 1982, Foucault, described the objective of his work as creating 'a history of the different modes by which our culture, human beings, are made subjects' (1982: 208). In this work Foucault offers a way in which the links between rationalization and power might be investigated by analysing discursive arenas or formations with reference to fundamental human experiences such as madness, illness, crime, sexuality (or in this case child sexual abuse).

Whilst being complex, detailed and heterogeneous, Foucault's work broadly involved the archeo-genealogical interrogation of the various ways in which modern institutions were constituted and developed, and the practices thereby enabled by these 'civilizing' endeavours and organisations. Civilization, according to his argument (Foucault, 1980), was constituted through the complimentary workings of internal mechanisms (i.e. mechanisms of 'self-control' and 'self-regulation') and external disciplinary strategies (that is, the normalising, regulating processes which maintained the operation of institutions such as prisons, asylums and schools). I will briefly outline each of these analytics stating, in so doing, how they were applied in this thesis.

Archaeology

As an analytic, archaeology represented an early phase in the development of Foucault's inquiries into the aesthetics of experience (cf. McNay, 1994). Conceptualising archaeology as an 'analytic tool', rather than a set of methodological procedures, Foucault argued that it could be applied in order to subject conventional treatments of discourse to critical scrutiny. The approach itself entails an analysis of 'a field of knowledge with concepts, theories, and diverse disciplines' (Couzens Hoy, 1989: 3) through which the theoretical 'problems of experience' can be investigated. Thus an archaeological investigation is concerned with how and the ways in which particular modes of understanding are embedded within discursive formations and practices of various kinds (Blackman, 1996). Rather than addressing, for example, what child sexual abuse is, an archaeology-informed analysis would ask is "How is it that this particular statement appeared in this place at this time, rather than another statement?"

The analytic of archaeology, as used by Foucault, is not intended to contest past or present discourses by appealing to notions of absolute truth and falsity, nor does it warrant an historical progression that replaces 'falsified' theories with increasingly refined and better versions of the way the world is (see Couzens Hoy,

1989: 6). Instead it enables, as Blackman (1996) states, a disruption of the certainty of truth claims that are made.

Genealogy

Couzens Hoy (1989) describes genealogy as the analysis of 'a normative collection of rules' (for instance, those involved in distinguishing the permitted from the forbidden, the normal from the pathological, the decent from the indecent). Thus while archaeology is an analysis of the 'rules' which govern the emergence of statements within discourse, genealogy is the analysis of the relations between the operation of truth and power, through which certain categories of thought create divisions between people (e.g. between those who are 'normal' and 'abnormal') thereby implicating the subject within a normalising set of assumptions (McNay, 1994). Thus genealogy is concerned with the wider apparatuses that are involved in the regulation and government of a specific mode of personhood (Blackman, 1996).

In this context discourse is conceptualised as only one element in particular apparatuses – *dispositifs* – which arise from complex relations among and between forms of power, knowledge, discourse, practice and institutions. Foucault's analytic of genealogy was informed by the Nietzschean tactic of the presentation of difference (Best and Kellner, 1991), through the use of history as an ironic method that highlights the disjunctions as well as the continuities of the historical record. What Foucault means by 'ironic' is in no way simple, however. It is an abandonment of traditional seriousness, while preserving active engagement with the concerns of the present. It seeks to avoid preserving some special status for the 'truth' which grounds serious involvement, and also to avoid the frivolity that arises when one abandons all seriousness to 'dance on the grave of god, or logos, or phallo-centricisms' (Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1982:47). The project of genealogy, through the writing of what Foucault refers to as a 'history of the present', has been proffered as an 'antidote' to the historiographical method of writing about

history as if it were a Kantian or Hegelian story about progress and freedom in the world (Couzens Hoy, 1989). As such, it has been used to counter such 'up the mountain' triumphalism with a much more critical tale about the construction of social institutions that reinforce the power-base of élites, and serve to regulate and control.

Ethics

In his later work on ethics, Foucault's attention shifted away from the ways in which people are defined and categorised in relation to a set of normalised notions (about sex, for example) to an examination of the ways in which people define themselves as subjects of ethical choice (in this case, around the erotic, cf. Foucault, 1988). According to Foucault, ethics are formed out of the disciplinary sites where knowledge about the subject is constituted. For Foucault, this includes four major types of 'technologies', or matrices of practical reason. As the first two of these technologies that Foucault identified (namely the technologies of 'production' and 'sign systems') are used in the study of science and linguistics respectively, they were not elaborated in his later work (Foucault, 1988). The third and forth technologies (of 'power' and 'the self') he argued, however, determine the conduct of individuals and submit them to certain ends or domination (Foucault, 1988); and 'forms of relation to oneself and others' (Rose, 1996). In this not only are the rules of conduct set out, but also the means by which people seek to transform themselves in relation to these rules (Foucault, 1994). Power, in the case of each of these technologies, is defined as a multidirectional, objectifying and subjectifying force (McNay, 1994), where 'struggles' take place with free individuals linked to systems of social regulation (Foucault, 1994).

Problematizing Foucault

Whilst, in this thesis, I have borrowed heavily from Foucault's theorising as it fits in well within the 'climate of perturbation' approach I described earlier, it is not without its problems.

With archaeology Foucault sees the 'interrogator', or researcher, as needing to adopt a neutral, disinterested stance towards that which they study. As Dreyfus and Rabinow put it: '[t]he archaeologist is located in a dimensional orthogonal to all discursive formations and their meaningful objects, subjects, concepts and strategies and their attempts to discover truth' (1982:85).

Herein lies a serious difficulty for its use within a 'climate of perturbation' approach. As Mulkay (1985) argues cogently, texts cannot be approached with such detachment. So, whilst an approach that offers a framework for analysing discursive formations is an obviously attractive one, the call for 'disinterested analysis' and 'pure description' (Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1982) which places the archaeologist of knowledge outside of (and, presumably, immune to) the discursive formations being studied is untenable. Mulkay stresses that the textual analyst cannot remain outside of what they seek to examine, for their very examination is, itself, an instance of textuality:

To deny one's own textuality, therefore, when engaged in this kind of analysis is, in effect, to deny one's interpretative dependence on these texts, to claim interpretative privilege from the outset over other participants' texts, and to assert that there is one class of texts, namely, one's own, that are to be treated beyond textuality. Thus, if our project is the study of textual production in all its forms, we can hardly refuse, by analytical fiat, to include our own texts within the scope of that project. (Mulkay, 1985: 74).

Another critique of Foucault that is pertinent to the way I chose to use the analytics he proposed relates this time to his genealogical approach. In *Discipline and Punish* Foucault (1980) argued that a genealogical analysis disregards conventional history in favour of the examination of the particular ways the subject

is constituted. Geertz, however, in his criticism of this text, argued that a genealogical analysis is that which it presupposes not to be. In his words, he argues that 'we seemed to be faced with a kind of Whig history in reverse – a history, in spite of itself, of the Rise of Unfreedom' (Geertz, 1978, cited in Couzens Hoy, 1989: 11).

Thus whilst much of Foucault's work provided a theoretical impetus for the research to be reported here, I have had to deal with problems with some of its specificities, not least of which being the question of how to apply his analysis to the empirical study of discourses. Here I turned to the work of Curt (1994, 1995) that elaborates and extends the work of Foucault, whilst offering a set of analytics and how they may be used.

Curtian analytics

Curt offers a transdisciplinary way of scrutinizing texts that (in)form 'the social world of people, human products and human relationships' (1994: 5). In her work Curt writes of 'conditions of plausibility': the particular conditions of involvement that implicate certain understandings-of-the-world more than others because they are seen to be more feasible or meaningful to that involvement (see also Stainton Rogers et. al., 1995). Curt offers the twinned analytics of textuality and tectonics as a way of scrutinizing such texts, arguing that these analytics:

enable us to address the way 'social realities', 'social movements', and 'social phenomena' are constructed, communicated and negotiated, how they are storied and knowledged into and out of plausibility, how they become 'thinkable' (and hence do-able) and 'unthinkable' (and hence un-doable) (*ibid*, 1994: 85)

Textuality

In keeping with its critical polytextualist approach, adopting textuality as an analytic implies an agnostic stance to the notion of a singular true reality but rather assumes 'narrative plurality' operating around any topic, issue or matter of concern. In common with 'archaeology, a 'turn to textuality' encourages an

exploration of how, where and out of what certain texts are 'storied into being', are made to function in particular ways at particular periods of time, and the criteria of truth which are at work. Rather than favouring certain ways of knowing (usually hegemonic over 'lay') as 'the truth' or 'the facts', the analytic of textuality looks at the different modes of textual (re)production and the ways in which certain ways of knowing are accorded 'plausibility'. The similarities between Curt's textuality and Foucault's archaeological methods are clear. However, unlike Foucault's problematic notion of 'disinterested analysis' Curt highlights the moral involvement of the researcher and her or his implication in that which she or he seeks to study.

Tectonics

Tectonics, like Foucault's genealogical approach, is concerned with the tracing, production and presencing of particular stories and the cultural contingencies (such as those of politics, time, place and space) of the stories so told. Unlike Foucault's genealogy, however, an important aspect of tectonics relates to the dynamic interplay between discourses and the consequences that may ensue.

Chapter Review and Prospect

In this thesis I will examine accounts of adult/child sex, looking in particular at the ways in which one of them – the mainstream account that constitutes it as 'child sexual abuse' – tends to be regarded as having 'obvious' plausibility in ways that renders other accounts as implausible and illegitimate. My argument is that the discourse which pivots around the construction of adult/child sex as child sexual abuse has been fashioned out of the modern attitude of the Enlightenment project. This attitude, with its emphasis on 'thematization' and the ordering of social and life (c.f. Foucault, 1991), carries with it assumptions about reason and rationality, normality and deviance. It thus lays claim to be the *only* legitimate way of working out how to deal with practical issues of life and society, including adult/child sex. It is these ideas and assumptions that will be subjected to scrutiny.

Read through the complicating gaze of critical polytextualism, adult/child sex cannot and should not be conflated into a unitary 'social problem' – child sexual abuse – that assumes a linear trajectory between 'looking for it', 'finding it' and 'doing something about it'. To do so, in however well-intentioned a manner, opens up a whole sphere of children's lives and the lives of those who care for them, to regulatory and governmental praxes that can have far from benign consequences, both for the children and adults drawn into the regulatory complex so mandated and created.

Adopting this stance is to assert that there is no overarching, authoritative account from within which adult/child sex *must* be understood. Rather it asserts that there are a number of localised, highly dependent and contingent accounts of adult/child sex that are 'storied into being' for different reasons, moulded and crafted by and through different discursive landscapes. These accounts cannot be understood outside of the complex of practises that imply and produce the whole discursive formation, or arena, of adult/child sex. They cannot be neutrally and innocently explored without reference to this backdrop.

Hence, from a critical polytextualist position, rather than seeking to establish which one of these accounts of adult/child sex is 'The Truth', what is placed under investigation are the truth-claims and truth-games of the different accounts themselves, as they are articulated by and within different discourses. Thus a critical polytextualist position would argue that all views of the world are provisional versions.

However, politically and morally, critical polytextualism does not deny that some versions of the world may be more *morally* acceptable than others (Wetherell and Potter, 1992). Critical polytextualism is not a relativist re-presentation of multiple and diverse truths, where 'one truth is as good as any other'. Nor is it the case that it has 'no aims but to relentlessly ...interrogate and dissolve every last claim' (Gil, 1995:172). Instead critical polytextualism is an approach in which all discourses

(and the truths which service them) must be made open to critical challenge, including our own (and others') moral and ideological readings (Stainton Rogers, W., 1997).

My interrogations of the discourses of adult/child sex will therefore draw upon Foucauldian analytics informed by:

- the project of archaeology, and its concern with theories about discourses and systems of knowledge (Foucault 1972; 1973);
- genealogy, with its focus toward the modalities and effects of power (Foucault, 1979, 1976); and ethics which relates to the specific techniques individuals use to know themselves (Foucault, 1984; 1988),
- the twin analytics of textuality and tectonics proposed by Beryl Curt, (1994).

Overview of the thesis

This thesis will be divided up into three main sections. This, the first section continues with Chapter 2 where I set out the methodological issues entailed in a critical polytextualist approach, and describes how I have dealt with them. I then go on to unravel, in genealogical/tectonic terms, the ways in which our contemporary understandings of adult/child sex (including, in particular, incest and child sexual abuse) have been moulded (Chapter 3). Section Two, comprising Chapters 4, 5, 6 and 7 details my empirical investigation of the various ways in which adult/child sex is constituted in discourses across a number of settings. There I report on the studies I conducted and my interpretation of the data obtained. The final section of the thesis (Chapter 8) draws together the main empirical findings and theoretical ideas that have been developed in the thesis. It suggests some of the implications that arise from these, especially in relation to policy and practice in the field of 'child protection'. And it includes my own

reflections on the methodological stance I have taken, and my experiences of conducting this work.

CHAPTER 2

CRITICAL METHODS FOR DISCURSIVE INQUIRY

Introduction

In Chapter 1 I argued that adult/child sexual engagement cannot be approached as a singularity. The critical polytextual approach I outlined there asserted that while adult/child sex has become singularised within a dominant discourse of 'child sexual abuse', there continues to be a variety of ways in which this engagement can be understood. My argument is that 'child sexual abuse' is a historically and culturally specific discursive complex – it is particular to its time and place. For all the apparent consensus generated by the dominant discourse of 'child sexual abuse', it is by no means the 'only story around'. Bubbling away under the surface are other transgressive readings, other subjugated possibilities, which continue to be articulated within a manifold of sympatric (cf. Stainton Rogers, W., 1991) discursive positions.

This chapter reviews the methods that permit the expression of these heterogeneous discursive positions describing, in so doing, the specific ways in which they were deployed in the studies reported in subsequent chapters of this thesis. Before getting into the specificities of these methods and methodologies, however, the following section examines a number of issues that must be addressed when research is conducted from within a critical polytextualist framework.

The requirements of critical polytextualist methods

Recently Curt (1995) refined the approach of critical polytextualism, dividing it into four main 'moments': complication; implication; explication and application. This makes use of the term 'plication' as meaning 'folding'.

This approach begins by recasting 'problems' (with their in-need-of-solution implications) as *complications*:

[A] complication is already composed as a manifold pattern of texts and elements...[it] already come to us as a whole range of descriptions, questions, partial answers and terms that are already evaluated and acted upon. (*ibid*, 1995: 7-8).

So recast, complications can then be scrutinised for their *implications*, to discover 'how differing ideas and practices have become enfolded within a given phenomenon' (Brown and Capdevila *op cit*). Brown and Capdevila use the example of jealousy, which, when examined for its implications:

traces a familiar emotion through the appropriation of moral codes through scientific discursive practice, towards the constitution of jealous siblings and green-eyed marriages...In doing so it seeks to uncover the nodes and networks of relations which are involved in jealousy and how it is that it comes to us as purely taken for granted (*ibid*, 1995:7-8)

Explication is discriminated from the more usual 'explanation' thus:

Explaining ... amounts to a process of concealment – concealment of complexity. It strives to cover up all the irritating little bits and bats that cannot be neatly accommodated within pre-existing theoretical frameworks. But complexity is stubborn stuff – no sooner has explanation tied it down in one place, it pops out in another. Thus inevitably, explanation continually spawns a 'residue of the unexplained'. This outpouring of residue requires the constant creation of new theory machines to process it. ... The production of *explications*, by contrast, avoids the problem of residue-generation, since it does not aspire to *fit* complexity into a given theoretical framework. To explicate is not a question of smoothing out complexity into a flat and smooth surface, but to bring out and reveal what is hidden in its folds. To produce an explication is then 'to make manifest what was shrouded and hidden, making "explicit" what was "implicit" (Goblot, 1901: 227). (Pujol and Stainton Rogers, W. 1995: 10-11, emphases in the original)

Put another way, explication is the expression and examination of the implications of a complication – an 'opening up' or unfolding of something so that it can be examined more closely. Pujol and Stainton Rogers (*op cit*) draw an analogy with

the unfolding of an origami figure which allows scrutiny of the techniques involved in its production, the material from which it has been made, how it 'works', and so on.

The final moment is *application* which, according to Worrell and Lee (1995) is about judgement – about following through from the explication of the implications of complication, and deciding what needs to be done. It is, crucially, about 'owning up' to that judgement: 'not looking for an essence, an ideology, a political party or even a "simple accident" to hold responsible' (Worrell and Lee, 1995:17) but taking responsibility oneself for the prescriptions being argued.

Curt (1994), in describing what they term *methodolatry*, argue that within mainstream approaches to empirical research, the variety of methods that are available and the choices that are made between them are put across not so much as a matter of disputed alternatives, but as test-choice competency, where there are right and wrong ways of applying a method as well as stronger and weaker procedures. The overall impression, they continue, is of method as a value-neutral and ever-improving set of procedures that can be brought to bear upon any specific issue (see Curt, 1994). 'True results' are thus guaranteed, according to this approach, through the identification and application of the correct method and methodological probity (cf. Lather, 1986).

Critical polytextualism recognizes that methods can never be neutral, and that all methodological approaches simplify, to differing degrees, complex socio-cultural processes. What is required instead are a set of approaches that do not canonize methodology through a fetisization of standard procedures (which themselves encourage a further 'trivialization') (Spears, 1997) or impose a 'singularisation' (Curt, 1995) of the issues under investigation.

In summary, by taking a critical polytextualist approach I required a set of methods that would make possible:

- the exposition of as wide a range as practicable of different accounts of 'child sexual abuse';
- the examination of the various truth-claims and truth-games that operate in the discursive arena surrounding 'child sexual abuse', and the assumptions upon which they are based;
- an acknowledgement of the constructed nature of the research process itself and the data it has produced;
- reflexivity about my own role in the research which is implicated in the very systems of knowledge I seek to explore.

I decided that in order to meet these requirements I would need to use a number of methodological approaches in conjunction with one another. These included a range of grounded and ethnographically informed methods, Q methodology and macro discourse analysis.

Grounded theory

Introduction

Glaser and Strauss (1967) are attributed with having both developed and popularized the use of the grounded theory in the social sciences. A fundamental premise of this approach is that theory should be properly 'grounded in' data collection and analysis. Thus 'grounding' requires a reciprocal relationship between data collection, analysis and theory (Strauss and Corbin, 1992). It is this reciprocity that places grounded theory in opposition to the 'preconceived process of hypothesis verification or rejection' (Charmaz, 1995:47) found in traditional hypothetico-deductive research design, where the hypothesis becomes 'the container into which the data must be poured' (Lather, 1986:267).

Rather than forcing issues through such preconceived frameworks, grounded theorists claim that their approach is inductive and flexible, allowing the data to shape, build and direct the research in a way that has relevance for the particular question under study (c.f. Strauss and Corbin, 1992; Charmaz, 1995). However, although the emphasis within grounded theory is to develop and use a set of procedures that are 'aimed to further theory development' (Charmaz, 1995:48), as Charmaz herself notes, much of the work conducted adopting this approach focuses less on theory development and more on the rich description of lived experience and social worlds.

Problems with grounded theory research

The problem is that despite claiming to be an alternative to, and having a different starting point from the researcher-led, *a priorism* of hypothetico-deductive research design, grounded theory still seeks to meet the criteria of "good science", which, according to Strauss and Corbin, involve 'significance, theory-observation, compatibility, generalizability, reproducibility, precision, rigor and verification' (1992: 27).

Thus methodological procedures for conducting grounded theoretical research involve an elaborate, pseudo-scientific, process of recording, coding and analysis (see for example Glaser and Strauss, 1967; Strauss and Corbin, 1992; Charmaz, 1995). Through this process, the 'rich description of lived experiences and social worlds' (Charmaz *op cit*) that the method purports to examine are fragmented and dispersed across analytic units for the purpose of quantification and scientific validation. David Silverman refers to this as 'a fairly empty building of categories into a smokescreen used to legitimize purely empiricist research' (1993:47).

Another drawback with this approach is that, despite claims of being data-led, all too often the 'creative' role of researcher in guiding the early stages of research gets eclipsed by the process of developing analytic codes and categories that are

developed from the data. Silverman (1993) views this as seriously problematic, since what happens is that the researcher's implicit theories, their intuitions, hunches, interests and insights, in addition to the 'type of data' they are working with, come to dominate the process of inquiry. What then happens is that theory is not – as it is purported to be – 'grounded' by the data, but rather by the researcher's own preconceptions – the wolf of hypothesis 'testing' gets dressed up in the sheep's clothing of grounded theory, but the wolf is still there, lurking in the background.

How grounded theory principles were applied in the early stages of my research

The strict analytical procedures associated with grounded theory and its role in the re-production of "good science" were of little relevance to the questions I wished to ask of the discursive arena of child sexual abuse. In light of this, rather than engaging in a methodolotary of grounded theory, I have, instead, borrowed selectively from some its theoretical principles. In particular I sought an 'open-ended' approach to data gathering in the early stages of my fieldwork, in the sense that it was as inclusive as possible, not based upon preconceptions about where the discursive 'gems' might be found. This I did in order to create the conditions under which key issues could be identified from these 'data'.

In this respect, three principle approaches were deployed in the early stages of my research:

- informal conversations;
- participating in short courses and conferences
- scrutiny of media

Informal Conversations

A number of informal discussions and conversations were carried out over a period of 3 months. The details of these conversations were recorded in a research notebook, which I took with me everywhere during this period. In this time I used opportunities that arose in my everyday life to intentionally strike up conversations about my research with people whom I either did not know, or with people I knew whose views on the topic of child sexual abuse were not already known to me.

One typical way in which I approached people who I did not know was to ask the question “*what do you do for a living?*” or, where this was obvious, (for example in the case of a taxi-driver) I would ask another job-related question. Very often my inquiry would be reciprocated and I would be asked about my work. When this happened I would deliberately frame my response as an ‘implicit invitation’ to the interlocutor to offer their views on child sexual abuse. Typically, I would say something like:

At the moment I’m doing research into people’s beliefs about child sexual abuse. I talk to as many people as I can about it. I’m interested to find out what people generally think about why it happens and what we should do about it. I find myself having discussions about child sexual abuse all the time and in the most unusual places; in shops, at bus stops, you name it - even *in taxis* [or wherever I happened to be at the time]

This, in many cases, would lead to some variation of the following questions “*what do these people tell you then?*” or “*why do you think it happens?*” My response would be “*I’m not sure, no one seems to be able to agree, what about you, why do you think it happens?*” After this second exchange, (and often following the first), the person would offer their own account of why child sexual abuse happens and the process involved. This was usually prefaced with a statement that situated their knowledge as uninformed, which I took pains to counter. Whenever a comment was made that was potentially useful to my research, I would seek

permission for its inclusion and only if the person agreed would I then record their comment only in my research notebook¹.

Some examples of informal accounts of child sexual abuse derived from these 'opportunistic' settings that I recorded in my research notebook were:

"You can't tell me that there's a mother on this Earth that wouldn't know if someone's done that to their child"

"To say they're animals would be insulting to animals!"

"Doing that to a child is an act of pure evil"

"They're sick...sadists and perverts"

"It's just not natural to want to do that"

Whilst it is acknowledged that the ways in which my questions were framed, the fact that I was a researcher, and the opportunistic context in which the conversations were being held all had an impact on what was said and what was deemed 'sayable' by the people I spoke to, this process did, however, provide an opportunity to tap into the 'everyday' ways in which child sexual abuse was spoken about. Following this initial period of 3 months, I continued to engage in similar conversations, and even though these could not longer be fed formally into the research process they did inform it.

Participating in short courses and conferences

I also applied the data-led open-ended principles of grounded theory when attending a number of short courses and conferences on child sexual abuse during the fieldwork phase of my research. In all I attended 23 academic and

¹ I would only record information about the comment and no details of the interlocutor in my research notebook during this phase of the research.

practice based conferences, seminars and training days (the details of which are listed in Appendix I). This attendance served a number of purposes. I was able to hear formal accounts of child sexual abuse as they were articulated by people actively engaged in the field at an academic and/or professional level. I also engaged in discussions and conversations, both within formal sessions, during break times and at social events. I also engaged in facilitating 'training trainers' sessions for the Open University *Child Abuse and Neglect* course, and, again, these sessions generated discussions and conversations relevant to the research.

Some examples of accounts I recorded in these settings are:

"Teaching children to say "No" takes the responsibility away from adults and abusers" [conference discussion]

"When working with sex offenders we need to assume their offending behaviour does not occur on the spur of the moment" [facilitator, training course on working with sex offenders]

These courses and conferences also provided a useful place to meet people who might participate in other stages of the research, including the Q-study. As with the other components, I recorded information in my research notebook at each of these events.

Scrutiny of media

Stainton Rogers, W. (1991) uses the term 'cultural analysis' to refer to the process of reading a range of texts including academic journals and textbooks, magazines, newspapers, and watching films and television programmes that are relevant to a discursive domain under investigation. This, Stainton Rogers argues, is done in order to make conceptual links between these texts and the 'cultural motifs' that inform them. The aim is to 'sample the concourse' – that is to gain access to a comprehensive range of ideas, assumptions and understandings as possible.

Although I undertook a cultural analysis at various stages of my fieldwork and data analysis (for example in the development of statements for the Q Methodological studies and for the subsequent analysis of factors²), it was used in a relatively unstructured way in the early stages of my fieldwork. Relevant quotes from these various sources were again recorded in my research notebook, some examples of which are:

There is some evidence that children will outgrow some forms of juvenile delinquency. But with child sexual abuse the reverse is the case...they don't out grow it – it becomes addictive.
(The Guardian, April 1992)

Having worked in the field of child protection for a number of years I am increasingly aware of the part played by pornography in child sexual abuse (letter to The Sunday Times, September 1992)

Allowing children to watch pornographic videos encourages them to repeat the behaviour they have seen (BBC Television documentary, Television, October 1992)

Headline: Child abuse expert says paedophilia part of God's will. Paedophiles need to become more positive and make the claim that paedophilia is an acceptable expression of God's will for love and unity among human beings (Underwager in The Sunday Times, December 1992)

Ethnographic research

Traditional ethnography has its roots in anthropology and cross-cultural research, which places an emphasis on 'encountering alien worlds and making sense of them' (Agar, 1986: 12). Within the context of traditional ethnography, the 'alien worlds' to which Agar refers consist of small, usually pre-literate, non-Western cultures. The stated aim is to discover the universals underpinning the diversity of human activity expressed in different cultures (see, for example, Leach, 1979). As such, ethnographic research has been associated with encounters with the 'unfamiliar' in settings with exotic, strange, bizarre Others. This de-coding of the strange and of the Other has remained a key feature of ethnographic research to this day.

² See also Chapter 4 and Appendix VI.

Traditionally, the principal methodological approach employed by ethnographers is fieldwork. Based on the principles of ethology, fieldwork usually involves the detailed observation (allegedly without disruption) of 'whole cultures' in terms of the rituals, everyday life and customs of 'primitive' folk in their naturally occurring habitats. Much importance is placed upon the research notebook wherein these detailed observations and the impressions gained of how the culture being investigated functions are recorded.

Criticisms of traditional ethnography

Recently the underpinning assumptions of traditional ethnography have been called into question, in particular the view that the ethnographer can both participate in a culture whilst at the same time remaining sufficiently distant in order to make an 'objective' and accurate record of their observations. Banister, Burman, Parker, Taylor and Tindall (1994) point out that ethnographers regard the *what?* and *why?* of the material they choose to record as self-evident and independent of the author, thereby failing to acknowledge that they are products of their own interpretation of the relevance and salience of events taking place.

Additionally, critics argue that the conclusions the observer wishes to draw, and prescriptions they wish to make, do not simply report an independent order of reality. Rather, the texts themselves are implicated in the work of reality-construction (Atkinson, 1990). The anecdotal and truncated (c.f. Silverman, 1985) nature of the observations are often masked by the rhetoric and procedures of scientific report writing. This mode of writing presents the data as 'detached, neutral, unbiased, and objective...knowledge untouched by human minds' (Pearce and Chen (1989:119; see also Kitzinger, 1987; Mulkay, 1985), rather than a 'highly contrived product' (Atkinson, 1990). Game (1991) suggests that such ethnographic authority is based on the idea that the ethnographer can translate the reality of others. The multiplicity of voices, and the potential stories that these

voices might wish to tell, are conveniently suppressed by the final textual product – the monograph, essay, or research paper.

Traditional ethnography also reflects its racist and imperialist foundations. These are manifest in the ways in which close analogies are drawn between the process of studying 'strange people' in ethnography and the study of animals in ethology. This point is made expressly by Haraway (1992) in her examination of the study of primatology and the direct comparisons that are made within it between the 'primitive nature' of apes and monkeys, and the 'primitive nature' of non-Western peoples. Haraway talks of primatology being 'simian orientalism' (drawing an analogy with the work of Said, 1991), a discipline in which the alien Otherness of apes and monkeys are interpreted as having implications for the alien nature of those regarded as less-than-fully-human. It is also evident in the Orientalist (c.f. Said, *ibid.*) claims of Western researchers to be able to decode the practices and beliefs of non-Western communities through the application of Western forms of rationality. Geertz (1983) exemplifies this point when he states that:

the trick is not to get yourself into some inner correspondence of spirit with your informants ...
the trick is to figure out what the devil they think they are up to. (Geertz, cited in Pearce and Chen: 1989 121)

Woolgar (1991: 19) identifies this Orientalism effectively when he argues that 'the assumption of difference is embedded in practices of argument which maintain the distance and exoticism of the target study.' The case being made is that traditional ethnography is neither for, nor about, the people under study. Rather it seeks to introduce the 'savage' into the intellectual controversies of the day (cf. Young 1987; see also Pearce and Chen, 1989).

Working within a 'critical ethnographic' framework

In recent years attempts have been made from within ethnography to respond to the criticisms that have been levelled at traditional ethnographic research. Clifford

(1986), for example, has made a plea for new ways of viewing and writing ethnography. These new approaches, he suggests, are ones in which a:

focus on text making and rhetoric [that serve] to highlight the constructed, artificial nature of cultural accounts. It undermines overly transparent modes of authority, and it draws attention to the historical predicament of ethnography, the fact that it is always caught up in the invention, not the representation, of cultures. (Clifford 1986: 2)

Critical ethnography retains from traditional and contemporary ethnography a multi-method approach that seeks to 'learn about the world from different perspectives...[and to] unravel what is taken for granted' (Banister *et al*, 1994:19) which includes observation, conversation and interviews, and attempts to locate talk and activity within its social and cultural context. But unlike traditional ethnography, what I have referred to as critical ethnography explicitly strives to address the problems of spurious objectivity and authority. Specifically, in order to tackle these criticisms my approach to ethnography:

- makes no claims about the naturalness or veracity of data derived from fieldwork. It argues that objective readings of texts are both untenable and unobtainable. Instead I aim to gain access to a *diversity* of accounts that are given by different people in different settings in order to make sense of and account for 'child sexual abuse';
- is reflexive about the ways in which what stands out as being salient (and thereby gets recorded and incorporated into the research report) is neither transparent, nor is its production a self-evident process. Rather it is part of the constructed nature of the research process itself, and the choices I had made about it. As such, the research is as much imbued with my own assumptions of the social world as it is imbued with the assumptions of the social world I have sought to investigate;
- acknowledges the power afforded to me by virtue of being a researcher and the ways in which this impacts upon the research process;

- acknowledges my authorial authority and makes explicit the readings that I offer of the accounts are just that – readings – so as not to close these down to other possible readings (c.f. Stenner, 1993)

How critical ethnographic methods were used in this thesis

I decided to adopt an approach to ethnography that was similar to concept of 'ethnomethodological ethnography' outlined by Dingwall (1981). This approach draws on Garfinkel's (1984) ethnomethodological interest in the taken-for-granted artful practices and 'sense assembly equipment' (Cuff and Payne, 1979: 178) that people use to develop an understanding of each other and of social situations, which both construct and sustain their everyday lives.

Dingwall's view is that by taking an ethnomethodological approach to ethnography, the researcher should suspend taking a moral stance in favour of exploring the 'situated rationality of events' (1981:135) wherein 'local stocks of knowledge' (c.f. Silverman, 1985:109) are depicted. In terms of my research, I have taken this suspension of a moral stance as an empirical issue where expressive (cf. Curt, 1994) or 'epistemological equivalence' can be afforded to the diverse ways in which child sexual abuse is 'put in to discourse' (c.f. Foucault, 1990). Epistemological equivalence, however, is not the same as moral equivalence. In keeping with the critical polytextualism of my approach, where the pursuit of True knowledges about child sexual abuse is viewed as both unobtainable and untenable my focus is thus placed upon the 'stocks of knowledge' that are available to make sense of child sexual abuse. An ethnomethodological ethnographic approach suggests that these knowledges are obtained, not through the spurious anthropological concepts of distancing and strangeness, but in a way that recognises the role of the researcher in the productivity of these accounts.

When applying this ethnomethodologically informed ethnography I attempted to gain access to as wide a range of discursive settings as possible where knowledge (both hegemonic and everyday) about 'child sexual abuse' was being discursively produced and re-produced. The approaches, listed below, each informed each other. Whilst each of these adopted approaches provided data in their own right, they also fed into the construction of items for the Q methodological aspect of my research (see Appendix VI), and provided resources for the interpretation of the data generated by the Q study.

Specifically, for my critical ethnography I used a combination of:

- Participant Observations;
- Individual interviews;
- Group interviews

Observations

I conducted two main participant observational studies for this thesis. The first involved visits to observe a 'psycho-educational' rehabilitation programme for offenders serving sentences for sexual assaults against children at Her Majesty's Prison Grendon Underwood. The second involved observing a self-help group for 'survivors' of child sexual abuse. Details and my analysis of both of these observations can be found in Chapter 7. I also observed and conducted a series of interviews with a self-help group for mothers of sexually abused children but have not given this detailed treatment in this thesis.

Given that making a tape – or video – recording of the discussions taking place during these observations was inappropriate, the use of my research notebook in these settings took on a greater significance here than in previous phases of my fieldwork.

In the early stages of these observations I attempted to record as much of what was going on as possible. With these observations, there was obviously much more going on, and being said, than could ever be adequately recorded using the paper and pen technique of recording in a research notebook. Consequently large amounts of potentially relevant material were inevitably overlooked. Over time and with the refinement of what was potentially relevant to my research, however, I became more selective about that which I chose to record. This selectivity brought with it reflexive concerns about the ways in which my conceptions and subjective investments in the research led me to record certain aspects of what was said and done in these settings and disregard others (Banister *et al* 1994, Parker 1999). Thus the process of recording was a continual process of theoretical, practical, reflexive and ethical attunement of what and how much to record.

Individual Interviews

With the individual interviews I approached professionals working in the field of child protection as well as members of the 'general public' to be tape-recorded giving their views about child sexual abuse. People I had spoken to informally during the earlier stages of the research generally recommended other members of the 'general public' that I might like to approach to take part in the individual interviews. It soon became clear, however, that many of these people felt uncomfortable and some were suspicious about why they had been recommended. I found that in many cases this discomfort arose because the previous informant had explained the aims of my research in ambiguous terms. Whilst this was not my intention, many also felt that the interview might possibly involve a certain amount of interrogation and/or personal disclosure.

I had more success with the professionals that I interviewed individually for this research, many of whom I had previously met at the various conferences and workshops I attended. The fact that I was able to explain the aims of my research

directly when inviting them to be interviewed, and their roles in terms of working in child protection, meant that they were less 'suspicious' about taking part in the research. This meant that while I obtained a diversity of accounts in this stage of the research, in the main they were from a 'professional' rather than a 'lay' standpoint.

Group discussions

Given that I wanted to include lay theorising and being informed by this sense of discomfort when people perceived themselves to be 'singled' out to talk about child sexual abuse, I decided to set up a series of less threatening group discussions. In order to remove some of the ambiguities and misunderstandings that may arise, and to inform people about what it is they may be asked to talk about in the interview, I prepared a brief outline of the research, which also contained a series of questions. These questions were not intended to constrain the discussion, but to inform participants of the way the conversation might go. The sheet that was circulated to those who wished to take part in the group discussions is reproduced in full in Appendix IV.

My first group discussion was set up as a pilot and involved colleagues and friends who worked at my university at the time. By doing this, a space was opened up not just to talk about the issues but also to provide important feedback about the process (i.e. what worked and what did not; questions that I might or might not ask in future; what the group felt comfortable and uncomfortable with). It transpired, given the topic of discussion, that a non-censorious atmosphere would be difficult to achieve. I learned from this initial pilot that I would need to adopt a variety of strategies to get people talking about child sexual abuse in a setting that was experienced as unthreatening. The strategy I used was to ask the participants to complete a sorting task.

The sorting task

The sorting task consisted of asking participants to examine a series of ten fictitious scenarios of child sexual abuse (see Appendix V) and to sort them from 'most abusive' to 'least abusive'. These were distributed to participants prior to the group discussion and they were told that the discussion would be based upon conversation among the group about how to order the scenarios. This strategy was based upon a similar exercise that had been used in an Open University course (Open University, 1989) for training purposes. Feedback from trainers and students on this course suggested that the exercise provided an opportunity for individuals and groups to explore their understandings of and assumptions about child abuse in a relatively unthreatening setting. What was at issue in the task was not the final sorting allocations themselves, but the justifications and explanations people gave for their decisions. For example, the kind of comments that participants made for allocating a particular scenario on the most/least abusive dimension were:

I think that one [scenario] has to go lower, because the abuser is a stranger. It's much worse to be abused by somebody you know and trust.

That one [scenario] is worse, though, because there's violence involved too - that has to be worse.

In all 10 tape-recorded group discussions using this technique were carried out, 3 of which were between groups of 'ordinary people' and 7 among professionals. The sorting task technique was also used as the basis for 3 individual interviews with a range of people with a professional or other interest in the topic (such as membership of a incest survivor group and a pressure group against clitoridectomy). The participants who were interviewed for this component of the research are listed, with their details, in Appendix III. In addition to carrying out the sorting task, these individuals were also asked a range of supplementary

questions, in order to prompt accounts of why sexual abuse happens and its causes.

Q Methodological research

Introduction

Q methodology is a pattern analytic that is used for expressing and gaining access to an ensemble of 'discursively organised positions or voices around an issue' (Stenner and Stainton Rogers, R., 1998: 89). It was specifically chosen for this thesis as it 'fits with research questions which are concerned to hear many voices' (Stainton Rogers, R., 1995: 183). Devised by Will Stephenson in 1935, the technique was developed for 'the orderly examination of human subjectivity' (Brown, 1980:11). Subjectivity is not referred to here in its intraphysic sense but, as Stenner and Watts cogently argue, 'the voicing of a wider discursive position' (1997/1998: 31).

With Q Methodology the data are seen in terms of the participants' construals of an issue, expressed through the 'whole structures of readings' (Curt, 1994: 119) they provide about a particular topic or issue. These whole structures of readings are derived through the process of rating a number of items along a sorting continuum, which reflect a broad range of ideas that have been sampled from a concourse, or discursive arena.

Stages in carrying out a Q study

Q methodological research involves a number of stages (Stainton Rogers, W., 1991). The specific procedures I adopted for the Q methodological study I conducted for this thesis can be found in the Introduction to Section 2. Here, however, I will provide an outline of the technique in general terms.

Estimating the concourse

A Q methodological study involves sampling from a wider concourse, or discursive arena. A concourse has been described by Stephenson (1961) as a loose assemblage of statements about a topic or an issue that can be configured in ways that construct more or less coherent or plausible ways of construing the topic in question. Curt has recently sharpened this definition of a concourse as 'the bounded universe of possible elements from which discourses are configured' (1994: 90); that is they are bounded in the sense that discourses are always located in time and place. Thus, a concourse is constituted by a range of texts, through a range of textual modalities (i.e. visual, written, spoken) and discourses of different kinds.

In order to gain a reasonable estimation of the concourse, the researcher is required to sample from across these texts and textual modalities as widely as possible. These are then re-produced in the form of items which each convey something salient about the topic of concern. Q sort items can be written propositions, photographs, newspaper clippings, objects or virtually anything that can be lifted and sorted (Stephen, 1985). These items form the basis of a Q set. A Q set has the items (in this case written propositions about child sexual abuse) presented on separate pieces of paper or card (rather like a pack of cards) and participants are required to rank these along a continuum of agreement and disagreement (e.g. -5 to +5), a process called Q sorting. Although the number of items will vary from study to study, Stephen (1985) recommends anywhere between 55 and 80³. Unlike a Likert Scale where each item is seen in isolation and given a rating accordingly, with Q sorting participants are required to consider the set of items in relation to one another. This results in a large number of fine

³ In considering the number of items to use in a Q set, the researcher needs to strike the right balance between including enough items in order that a range of alternative accounts can be expressed, without including so many as to make the Q pack overwhelming and unwieldy.

discriminations being made between the items. Figure 1 (below) gives an indication of what this process involves.

Figure 1: A schematic representation of a participant completing a q-sort



An important aspect of Q methodology is that questions over what the items 'really' mean or how they should be read are eschewed (Stenner and Marshall, 1995). Thus they are not rated against any external criteria of 'truth', but solely in terms of their subjective salience to the sorter, indicated by the value that is accorded to each item (e.g. from -5 to +5). These responses are recorded on a grid that usually takes the form of a quasi normal distribution⁴ (see figure 2 below).

⁴ The grid is more of a pragmatic device than a requisite of the technique as it aids the process of data collection and yields equivalent sorting patterns from the participants (see Stainton Rogers, R., 1995: 181).

Figure 1: A schematic example of a completed response grid.

Rating										
-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
57	66	52	22	49	19	35	45	10	11	60
05	62	54	63	09	31	40	27	43	17	46
23	53	18	29	13	33	26	64	34	37	47
	67	50	58	02	08	14	48	32	25	
	65	44	12	15	07	06	18	39	42	
		56	41	03	61	28	16	59		
Item number			55	20	24	04	36			
			01	51	68	69	30			
					21					

Participants are further asked to explain the positioning of items, or to comment on those items they felt in need of qualification or justification in an open-ended free response booklet (Stainton Rogers, W., (1991); Stenner and Marshall, 1995; Stenner and Stainton Rogers, R., 1998).

The rating process has been described by Rex Stainton Rogers (1995) as a creative configuration that produces whole structures of readings in relation to the items in the Q set. It is through these readings that a discursive position (or account) of the topic of concern is said to be patterned. There is, however, an explicit recognition with Q methodology that these discursive positions are not the only ones which participants could have expressed, or have access to. As such the technique makes minimal claims about the status of the discursive positions themselves; they are regarded as a ‘snap shot’ of what was salient for participants at the time of sorting and in relation to the items they were required to sort.

Selecting participants

Unlike in conventional methodology, a Q methodological study does not necessitate random or ‘balanced’ samples of participants (Brown, 1980; Stainton Rogers, R., 1995; Stenner and Marshall, 1995). The process of sampling takes

place with the items that are included in the Q set. Participants who are asked to take part in a Q study are targeted strategically, on the basis of the diversity of views they may express through their sorting configurations (see Kitzinger, 1987; Stainton Rogers, W., 1991).

Q analysis

Q analysis makes use of factor analysis, although not in its conventional, positivist form. Q methodology does not seek to discover underlying traits (cf Kitzinger, 1987) but the ways in which participants fashion an account through the placement of items. The items themselves do not present the same restrictions as conventional methodological research because they are not ascribed a singular meaning in advance of sorting (cf. Brown, 1980). It is the participants who ascribe meanings and values to the items through the process of sorting. The "Q" is thus used to differentiate Stephenson's approach from other conventional "R" methodological uses of factor analysis. The goal of Q factor analysis is to reduce the wide variety in sorting patterns to anywhere between 3 and 15 factors. This is achieved via a person-by-person factor analysis that detects the covariance between the whole sorting patterns of the participants. It gathers together similar discursive positions. The factors to emerge through this process only do so because the participants have expressed them through their sorting configurations. They are neither the product of, nor are they measured against, the *a priori* definitions of the researcher (Kitzinger and Stainton Rogers, R., 1985). They are also independent from each other in the sense that they represent orthogonal patterns of sorting, or alternative construals of the topic.

Sorting patterns which, on the basis of their correlations, group together as a type are signified with a high loading on a factor, whilst sorting patterns that are dissimilar will have a correspondingly low loading on that factor. Thus the association of each participant's sorting pattern with each factor is indicated by the magnitude of its loading. Once factors are identified by the analysis, the

sorting configurations are reconstructed in a way that best estimates the construal being jointly expressed. Sorting patterns which achieve the level of significance set within the study (usually somewhere in the region of ± 0.6) are termed 'exemplificatory'. Where there is only one exemplar (i.e. where only one sorting pattern loaded highly on the factor), this involves using the initial sorting pattern provided by the participant. Where there are several exemplifying Q sorts, each pattern is weighted and averaged in a way that takes account of the magnitude of their loading on the factor (see Brown, 1980), to produce an idealised grid.

Factor exegesis

The final stage of conducting a Q methodological study involves an exegesis, or reading, of the construals of the topic in question. This reading is based on an examination of the reconstructed sorting configurations, together with any open-ended comments to the items. The biographical details provided by the participants may also be used to provide a context for the viewpoint that is being expressed. Factor exegesis may also involve taking the initial interpretation of the factor back to the participants whose Q sorts were exemplificatory and asking them to clarify the position they were expressing and/or comment on the researcher's interpretation of the view being expressed.

Cultural analysis

A final stage involves a wider analysis of the factor which takes account of the social, cultural, political historical context of the account being expressed. This may be seen as a form of discourse analysis (a 'macro discourse analysis' in Wendy Stainton Rogers' [1996] terms) and is therefore dealt with later on in this Chapter.

Criticisms and Problems with Q methodology

The choice of items to be included in a Q study raises a number of potential problems. As the decision about which items are included in the Q-set ultimately resides with the researcher there is always a possibility that this may limit the range and depth of the sorting configurations that result. As with any kind of research, there will always be an element of selectivity. Whilst this cannot be avoided, with Q methodology the process of deciding on the best estimate for the concourse in question is a shared one (see Introduction to Section 2 for details) so that the researcher is not the only authority behind the selection of items at any stage. The researcher's own construals of the topic under investigation are always considered along side the researched so that any 'authorial' reading is made visible and open to scrutiny and re-reading (Stainton Rogers, W., 1991; Stenner, 1993).

There will also always be unidentified or muted gaps by failure to look in the right places or to recognise them when they do come up when estimating a concourse (Stainton Rogers, W., 1991). Q methodology makes no claim to be exhaustive, what it does claim is to be able to open out a discursive arena for critical scrutiny.

Another aspect of Q methodology is that it is an intellectually demanding and time consuming technique that may be restricted to the literate and numerate in the sense that they understand the concept of ranking (cf. Kitzinger, 1987). It may also be restricted to those who have enough time and space to spread out the items (as illustrated in figure 1). A number of Q methodologists have addressed these issues by insuring that the items are written clearly and accessibly (Stainton Rogers, W., 1991; Stainton Rogers, R., 1995). Other Q methodologists (see Kitzinger, 1987) have sat with participants while they completed their Q sorts in order to provide help with the practicalities and complexities involved in the sorting process.

A final potential problem with Q methodology is the danger of giving a platform to 'undesirable views'. Q methodology assumes epistemological equivalence between different accounts that are given but this epistemological equivalence is not the same as moral equivalence. Yet Q methodologists see it as important that a variety of viewpoints are examined, including those 'we do not like'. This, as will be apparent later in thesis, proved troublesome for my research. I have adopted the strategy of reporting accounts, even where 'I do not like them' – but 'owning up' to my 'dislike' in my interpretation of the accounts and my examination of their implications.

Discourse analysis

Introduction

Discourse analysis is a polysemic theoretical and methodological field (see for example Potter and Wetherell, 1987; Potter and Wetherell, 1991; Parker, 1990, 1992; Burman, 1992; Hollway, 1984, 1989; Burman and Parker, 1993; Wilkinson and Kitzinger, 1995; Potter, 1997). Alternative notions of discourse have been fashioned within divergent theoretical trends of linguistic analysis, ethnomethodology, conversation analysis as well as being associated with postmodernist/poststructuralist forms of analysis (c.f. Parker, 1992; Wilkinson and Kitzinger, 1995). These approaches may intersect, overlap, contradict or exclude one another. (see for example Wodak, 1996; Burman and Parker, 1993; Fairclough, 1992; Potter, Wetherell, Gill and Edwards, 1990). Given this situation, discourse analysis has neither been taken up nor deployed by critical researchers in a unitary fashion.

What these approaches to discourse do have in common, however, is the ways in which textuality is addressed through a critical turn to language, where language, rather being seen to referentially and benignly 'map-the-world-out-there', is

instead implicated in constructing the possibilities and material practices of that world.

Of these divergent approaches available to analyse discourse (see Stainton Rogers, W. 1996 for a review; see also Burman and Parker, 1993; Wilkinson and Kitzinger, 1995), it is micro-and macro-discourse analysis that are most relevant to questions I explore in this thesis.

Micro-Discourse Analysis

Micro-discourse analysis is a linguistically oriented approach which considers the context as that is created by the discourse itself (Wodak, 1996). The focus here is generally upon the fine-grained scrutiny of texts usually in the form of recorded extracts of 'naturally occurring' talk. Micro-discourse analysis is often tied to the technical discipline of conversation analysis.

Conversation analysis is derived from the ethnomethodological concern with everyday situations and the methods people use for producing it (c.f. Garfinkel, 1967) and Austin's (1962) speech act theory which propounded that utterances do not simply describe a state of affairs but are performative, in the sense that they also perform an action. With conversation analysis, field notebooks are replaced by detailed transcripts based on the recorded instances of 'naturally occurring' talk (c.f. Silverman, 1993) that takes place in ordinary social interactions (Drew, 1995). These recordings are transcribed according to a convention, which attempts to textually reproduce the spoken features of talk. These include, for example, the timing of pauses in the conversations and between words, as well as the transcription of the ungrammatical utterances such as 'umms' and 'errs'. The conversations themselves are then analysed in terms of conversational openings and closings; turn taking; and the ways in which conversations are established, developed and changed' (Silverman, 1993; Drew, 1995). In so doing, the

conversation analyst aims to provide an account of the formal organisation and sequential implicativeness of talk (Silverman, 1985, 1993; Wodak, 1996).

Micro-discourse analysts, whilst not engaging in the specific analysis of the formal organisation of talk intrinsic to conversation analysis, have taken on board many of its principles. With micro-discourse analysis, the term 'conversation' is usually replaced by (spoken) 'discourse' or 'interpretative repertoires' (cf. Potter and Wetherell, 1987), but the effect is still to conceive extracts of talk as the central unit, or text, of analysis (see for example, Potter and Wetherell, 1987; Potter, Wetherell, Gill and Edwards, 1990; Gill, 1993).

Problems with Conversation and Micro Discourse Analysis

In taking 'conversation', spoken discourse, or interpretative repertoires as the central text of analysis, what is of interest, Wetherell argues is 'what the conversation means for the participants as they intersubjectively build a social order – it is a place where culture and social happen'. (Wetherell, 1998: 391). In this way the text is analysed outwith textuality and in isolation from the wider social context wherein these conversations are shaped, inscribed and thereby given meaning. One effect of this is that micro-discourse analysis fails to adequately provide a means by which the examination of macro-structures and macro-institutions (Fairclough, 1990), the operations of power asymmetries (Wodak, 1996) and subjectivity (c.f. Curt, 1994) can take place.

The methods used by micro-discourse analysis involves an intense engagement with, and close reading of, the texts in the pursuit of what may be termed the "thick description" (cf. Geertz, 1983) of the 'emergent' discursive themes of various kinds.

In describing Geertzian concept of thick description, Pearce and Chen have argued that:

The process, he says, is more like what a critic does to a poem than what an astronomer does to a star, and the products are understood in the manner of grasping a proverb, catching an allusion, or seeing a joke (*ibid*, 1989:121).

The themes that are identified as emergent, and then subsequently analysed, interpreted or 'decoded' are not the product of some naturally occurring or self-evident process (Kitzinger, 1987). Instead the process of 'analysis' largely relies upon the researcher's 'intuition' (cf. Parker, 1992, 1999) and their cultural competence. This, in certain cases, may lead to a situation where the analyst presupposes what it is they claim to discover in the text. Widdicombe (1995) has criticised this process, calling it 'ascriptivism', which she views as the tendency to impute the presence of a discourse to a piece of text without explaining the basis for that specific claim. The texts that are chosen for analysis do not hold 'deep secrets' that are given up to the skilled reader, instead they are chosen by that reader because they *can be* read in a particular way. With a critical polytextualist approach the themes that are chosen for scrutiny are based on the explicit decisions that are made by the researcher rather than through appeals to pseudo-autonomous processes where themes are presented as 'emerging' from the text.

In their later work, Wetherell and Potter, 1992 (see also Wetherell, 1998) have attempted to move beyond a focus on the spoken word in order to forge an analysis which, in their terms, draws from 'linguistic philosophy, rhetoric, ethnomethodology and conversation analysis, poststructuralism and developments in the sociology of scientific knowledge' (Potter and Wetherell, 1995:81). Their concern here is less with questions of 'why this utterance here' (Wetherell, 1998: 388) and the fine grained analysis of segments of talk, than with the broad ways in which discourse operates more generally as a social and cultural resource for human activities and endeavours. It is this form of 'macro' discourse analysis that I have adopted in this thesis.

Macro-Discourse analysis

Macro-discourse analysis tends to draw extensively from poststructural theorizing and Foucault's concern with constellations of relationships between power, knowledge and the grids of intelligibility that make them possible (see Chapter 1). It is also concerned with how particular modes of understanding are embedded within specific systems of thought that are bound by time and place.

With macro approaches to discourse, the range of analysis is broader and the texts more heterogeneous and manifold than the singular performative arenas of the written or spoken word deployed in micro-discourse analytic approaches (cf. Curt, 1994). For Foucault, such analysis relates to the totality of interactions and practices across a number of institutional sites that take place within a particular discursive domain, as well as the 'positions' from which people speak (see for example Foucault, 1970, 1972). Language-use within these macro approaches is said to link up to wider social and cultural processes, where conversations always take place in an already constituted system of meanings (Shapiro, 1992; Brown and Capdevila, 1995). These meanings are 'bounded', in time and space, by discursive formations (Foucault, 1972) which make it possible for certain statements, but not others, to occur at particular times and places and in different institutional locations.

How macro-discourse analysis was used in this thesis

Macro-discourse analysis will be used as both a theory and method in this thesis. In Chapter 1, I outlined the theoretical principles underlying a study of discourse. There it was argued that my approach draws on the analytics of textuality and tectonics of Curt (1994) and through the body of work inspired by Foucault.

Problems arise when attempting to describe how discourse analysis was used as method in this thesis, however. This is because there is much debate about how it should be done (see, for example, Potter and Wetherell, 1987; Parker, 1992;)

and whether the method of discourse analysis can or should be specified. My approach therefore was to look for themes across the various types of discourse and discursive settings that related to the questions I wished to ask of the constitution of the discursive arena of child sexual abuse. In so doing, I examined the alternative systems of knowledge which in addition to imbuing child sexual abuse with meaning, also provide the operating 'rules' governing what it is and how it may be deployed. My analysis of discourse, therefore, interrogated the truth games and truth claims and how these are fixed or immobilised in 'discursive positions' (Stenner and Watts, 1997/1998) within this discursive arena. I also examined the ways in which these claims are authenticated and the possibilities that are enabled or disenabled by this way of speaking about child sexual abuse (Curt, 1994).

For me, the macro discourse analytic approach I have adopted is not concerned with a fine-grained analysis of action-orientated talk, but the imbrication of discourse with power and subjectification (Hollway, 1984). Therefore I used macro-discourse analysis to examine the polytextual range of explanatory structures and conditions of thought that make particular construals of child sexual abuse possible, which combines an examination of persons-in-culture as discourse users (cf. Burr, 1995) with a broader analysis of discourses. This 'broader analysis of discourse' begins in the next Chapter which examines how historically and socially texts of various kinds are given the status of reality and are made to function in particular ways in relation to the constitution of adult/child sex as child sexual abuse.

CHAPTER 3

DISCOURSING CHILD SEXUAL ABUSE

Introduction

In Chapter 1 I argued that the currently dominant treatment of adult/child sex as 'child sexual abuse' is a relatively recent discursive construction. To say this does not mean that, prior to today, no similar construction existed. Ideas about incest, for example, can be documented back into antiquity. Similarly, Hooper (1987), Finkelhor (1981) and Summitt (1988) have all noted that adult/child sex has, at several times in the past, been brought into public awareness as a 'problem' and placed under professional scrutiny. An example is concern expressed by the NSPCC in its early days about children (especially girls) being 'exposed to moral danger'.

However, it is still reasonable to argue (particularly within the English-speaking world) that it was not until the 1980s in Britain and approximately a decade earlier in the United States that 'child sexual abuse' became firmly established as an issue on the public and professional agenda of social concern. As it is currently deployed the term 'child sexual abuse' appears to be 'self-evident' – an unambiguous and unified category which prioritises the illicit sexual activity, or potential threat of it, between *dangerous* adults (usually male) and children (usually girls), where such children are seen to be either *endangered* by the potential threat of child sexual abuse and/or *damaged* when this conduct actually occurs.

My argument is, however, that rather than appearing *de novo* in the 1980s and being self-evident, unified and unambiguous, the discursive arena of child sexual abuse is a cultural configuration that has been moulded into its contemporary form by a network of discontinuous historical, cultural and political contingencies and

mutations. In this chapter I adopt a genealogical tectonic approach to trace a number of these contingencies and mutations. In so doing I will address the following questions:

- How and why is it that all adult/child sex has been singularised as 'child sexual abuse';
- how have we come to 'recognise' child sexual abuse as a meaningful, self-evident and real 'thing'? (i.e. how has it come to be reified?);
- why do we regard it as a serious social problem? (i.e. how and why has adult/child sex come to be regarded as inevitably and inherently problematic, with the need-for-solution implications that such problematisation implies?).

The tectonic genealogical approach I will outline in this chapter is based upon the assumption that all understandings – in this case of adult/child sex as synonymous with child sexual abuse – have been 'knowledged into being' through acts of human meaning-making. They are always contingent upon time and place, however much they may appear to be universal and timeless; always provisional and contested, however much they may be presented as finite and incontrovertible.

The critical polytextualist approach I am developing in this thesis, in contrast to the conventional 'up the mountain tale' (Rorty, 1980) of scientific progress, refuses to simplify adult/child sex, or to uncritically accept any claims of authority. Moreover, it denies there can ever be a linear 'history of ideas' – rather it views what has gone on as a dynamic interplay of text upon text. Hence the critical polytextual readings that will be offered in this thesis take on a minimal agenda (cf. Curt, 1994) of providing a commentary on the discursive labour through which our current understandings, definitions and explanations of adult/child sex have been made and moulded, and how the deployment of the instantiation of adult/child sex as child sexual abuse are used to mobilise some concerns and

immobilise others (c.f. Byrne and McCarthy, 1988). This thesis looks at the polysemic ways the 'thoughts, words and deeds' (Stainton Rogers and Stainton Rogers, 1999) surrounding adult/child sex are 'put into discourse' (Berger and Luckman, 1967), and how those discourses are deployed.

The chapter begins with an outline of the analytics of genealogy and tectonics that I have used to address this question and then goes on to trace a number of discourses which have given shape to the contemporary discursive domain of adult/child sex as child sexual abuse.

Genealogy and tectonics

Genealogy

In conventional approaches to history there is an aspiration – which is distinctly modernist and idealist – to 'provide an all-encompassing universal history' (Bellamy, 1987:728) which unfolds the continuous and 'logical flow of causally connected events' (McNay, 1994:8). This is undertaken with a view to locating the origins, and subsequent development, of the particular cultural phenomenon under investigation. This traditional mode of 'doing a history' engages in the ontological mapping of the phenomenon being investigated, in order that its essential features, or 'truths' may thereby be exposed (cf. Foucault, 1984). By contrast, genealogy is a *critical* mode of 'doing a history' (cf. Blackman, 1994) of particular cultural forms, practises and events.

Genealogy begins by challenging the idea that the development, visibility and operations of particular cultural forms, practises and events can be deciphered through a reading of objective, true, and continuous historical narratives. A genealogical approach sees the knowledges which inform traditional historiography as being partial, contingent, and of a particular type: 'erudite' (Foucault, 1980). These erudite, or hegemonic, narratives, by virtue of their dominance, tend to operate *as though* they were true. But, according to Foucault,

this is an illusion, a 'Truth game' in which the 'facts' are not things-out-there-waiting-to-be-discovered, but have been 'knowledged into being' (cf. Curt, 1994) through particular kinds of discursive labour.

Thus, according to a genealogical analysis, the variety of cultural forms that are available at any particular time or place are not there due to any inherent facticity. Rather, they are visible and intelligible due to a series of 'arbitrary fixings' (Shapiro, 1992) resulting from historical power/knowledge struggles, where certain knowledges gain hegemonic dominance over others. In Shapiro's view these arbitrary fixings result from, 'the momentary results of struggles among contending forces, struggles that could have produced other possible systems of intelligibility and the orders they support' (*ibid*, 1992:2).

A genealogical mode of inquiry thus involves a critical scrutiny of the discursivity that constitutes a given cultural form, whilst at the same time recognising that it can never be fully grasped or articulated (cf. Dreyfus and Rabinow, 1982). It involves an examination of the economy of discourses, the contingencies (Foucault, 1980, 1988) and the organising effects of power (Wetherell and Potter, 1992) which provide the conditions of possibility (Curt, 1994), and hence visibility, for particular assertions, and/or cultural forms, to operate as 'True' (Owen, 1995; Pavlich, 1995).

Tectonics

In common with genealogy, the analytic of tectonic allows an interrogation of the conditions of possibility of cultural forms and discursive arenas. As was argued in Chapter 1, the emphasis here, though, is placed on an examination of the 'dynamic interplay of text upon text' (Curt, 1994: 59). A tectonically informed approach assumes that 'new' cultural forms, or discursive arenas, (such as the discursive arena of child sexual abuse) never appear spontaneously, but are crafted out of existing discourses or the discursive spaces between them (Curt,

1994). The analytic of tectonics (or more specifically cultural tectonics) extends Foucault's concept of genealogy by examining the way in which the discourses constituting a particular cultural form or discursive arena draw and impinge upon one another in the present, as well as historically. This treats discourses rather like tectonic plates, and looks at how they shift against and mould each other.

The genealogy and tectonics of adult/child sex

Thus, when taken together, the analytics of genealogy and tectonics enable polytextual (i.e. text upon text) readings of the historical, cultural and political discursive that have been deployed – and continue to be deployed – to construct adult/child sex as a problematised area of social existence and experience.

First, the discursive arena of adult/child sex has been informed and moulded by discourses concerned with the prohibition of incest. Second, it has also been crafted from discourses on the endangered child – ideas about the harmful effects of adult/child sex upon the child's development and future mental health in adulthood. These discourses are each, in different ways, imbricated with narratives of danger and damage. At the same time, the discursive arena of adult/child sex as child sexual abuse cannot be simply viewed as stable and all encompassing. It has been resisted by competing discourses that deny the danger and damage of adult/child sex, asserting that children are sexual beings, capable of both engaging in sex with each other and with adults, without harmful effects. The argument I am making then, is that the topic of adult/child sex is a tectonic 'hot spot', where power can be deployed to regulate children's sexuality as a means of regulating what has been defined as 'deviant' sexuality. Therefore the story that is presented in this Chapter is not a singularised, chronological unfolding of events relating to the contemporary situation where adult/child sex is seen as synonymous with child sexual abuse, but a set of partial and polysemic discourses, and the tectonic interplay between them.

The incest taboo

Both incest and the incest taboo feature extensively within a number of historical, academic, clinical, professional texts. It also appears in folklore, religious texts and legends (see Wrist, 1979; Twitchell 1987; Shell, 1988). The basis of many of these narratives is that incest is so wrong, damaging and dangerous that its enactment is universally condemned and prohibited. In the Bible, for example, the Book of Leviticus devotes a whole chapter to the subject of incest. The Book of Genesis includes the cautionary tale of Lot, a father who was 'seduced' by his daughters in order that they might bear children in the absence of the mother who had been turned into a pillar of salt. Incest also commonly features in Greek myths, the best known of which is the story of Oedipus who gauges his eyes out after unwittingly committing incest with his mother (see Henderson, 1972).

There has been extensive analysis of the incest taboo, offering a diversity of explanations for it. These include biologically-, social/anthropologically- or psychoanalytically-informed accounts of why incest is a universally prohibited behaviour (Bell, 1992, 1993; Hallberg and Rigne, 1994). These explanations underpin and have informed the contemporary discursive arena of adult/child sex in a number of important ways, in particular in relation to the harm and social disruption caused by incest (cf. Henderson, 1972; Bell, 1992, 1993).

Biologically-informed accounts of the incest taboo

Early biological theories of incest taboo, expounded towards the end of the nineteenth century, tended to focus upon potential acts of *procreative* incest. The concern there was that the children of these incestuous unions were likely to suffer from intellectual and/or physical disabilities. As White (1898) put it, they were likely to be 'degenerate offspring' as a result. It is a view that, if left unchecked, incestuous activity has the potential to lead to the 'mental and moral degeneration' of humanity' (Morgan, 1877). As such, this risk was viewed as a

'rational' justification for the prohibition of incest. These early biological accounts were largely impressionistic, and based upon the observational methods that were employed prior to the insights of newly emergent science of genetics, and its progeny eugenics (c.f. Renshaw, 1982). Unlike contemporary discourses on 'child sexual abuse', they took a narrow, linear view of incest, limiting its scope to procreative sexual intercourse, since it was this that was seen as leading to mental and/or physical 'degeneration'.

After the turn of the century, biologically-grounded theories of social behaviour lost much of their popularity and were, discursively speaking, largely 'archived'. It became apparent that 'born that way' types of explanations of human behaviour left little room for the transformatory and emancipatory ambitions of the Enlightenment project (cf. Renshaw, 1982; Rose, 1985). However, these approaches have recently regained popularity due, in large part, to the development of socio-biological theories drawing on the field of genetics.

The science of genetics, serviced by animal and human experimentation, came again to warn with renewed (neo-Darwinian) authority of the damaging effects of 'inbreeding'. One latter-day proponent of this view, Lindzey (1967), has argued that the incest taboo provides an effective barrier against the biological disadvantages of 'maladaptive recessive genes' that could be unleashed through the act of in-breeding. Lindzey's view received support from the wider scientific community, wherein a number of studies reported an increased incidence of non-specific mental retardation, double recessive disorders, polygenetic disorders and still-births among children born of incestuous unions (see for example, Adams and Neel, 1967; Goodwin, 1982). Incest within these accounts was constructed as a problem in hetero-reproductive terms; that is the problematising gaze of these discourses focused on the problems of closely related kin reproducing (Vander Mey, 1992; Bell, 1993).

Yet despite being equipped with this newly acquired genetic 'evidence' about the damaging effects of incest, biological accounts did not, however, remain uncontested. A number of theorists challenged the biological basis of the incest taboo, claiming that 'in-breeding' was just as likely to enhance the quality of the gene pool as it was to bring about 'degeneration' (Ellis, 1963; Noble and Mason, 1978; Eskapa 1987).

In a somewhat different account of the biological warrant prohibiting incest Westermarck (1889,1921) proposed a functional explanation for incest avoidance, arguing it to be a strategy that has developed out of centuries of evolution. He proposed a two-stage account that focused more upon sibling-sibling than parent-child incestuous liaisons. In the first – biological – stage Westermarck, inspired by a fusion of Darwinian principles of natural selection and the Freudian thesis of the sexual instinct, saw incest avoidance operating according to the dictates and workings of the so-called 'sex instinct'. The sex instinct, when applied to the particular social arrangement of childhood domestic propinquity, would become modified to avoid situations where children would commit acts of incest. According to Westermarck, this modification takes place because of two related factors: sexual immaturity (the kin involved are neither 'capable' of conceiving of each other in a sexual light, nor of inspiring sexual desire in another); and the dulling effects that domestic association and familiarity have upon sexual desire. When taken together, this pre-sexual conditioning, brought about through domestic propinquity, ensures that the siblings are destined to relate to one another in ways that will always be sexually averse. In the second, social, stage of Westermarck's thesis he argued that, rather than preventing incest from occurring, social customs, laws, prohibitions and taboos are merely the social interpretation of the biological tendency to avoid incest.

Westermarck further commented that no amount of socio-legal proscriptions and sanctions could affect the instinctual trajectory of sexual attraction and desire. In his view individuals are biologically 'wired' to protect the genetic endowment of the

species achieved through an avoidance of incest. Westermarck's thesis deploys a particular construct of the 'asexual child', together with a 'common sense' claim that siblings, on the whole, are not sexually attracted to one another. This he uses to provide a universalist explanation of the operations of the incest taboo. What his argument fails to address, however, is why, if it is the case that individuals are evolutionarily predisposed to adverse incest, there are numerous motifs warning against the dangers of incest and powerful social sanctions to regulate this conduct. If incest avoidance were, as he suggested, part of the genetic endowment of the species, surely these social sanctions would not be needed, as incest behaviour would simply not occur?

Social/anthropologically-informed accounts of the incest taboo

In contrast to biologically based discourses on the dangers of in-breeding, anthropological discourses construed the incest taboo as a social rule which ensured that marital exchanges took place *between* (rather than within) families and groups. If properly observed, the incest taboo was thought to offer some protection against the disruption of kinship configurations. It was also seen as facilitating the development of wider kinship ties and group cohesion – regarded as essential to the operations of a functional, or even 'civilised' society (see, for example Malinowski, 1929/1940; Levi Strauss, 1949/ 1977). Thus within these anthropological discourses, society itself was deemed to be *endangered* by incest. In common with many anthropologists of the day, Lévi-Strauss and Malinowski¹ regarded preliterate, distant cultures as communities of 'savage' or 'primitive' folk that held the key both to the development of civilisation and universal laws governing human behaviour. The grand claims they made about

¹ See also Durkheim in *Incest: The Native and Origin of the Taboo* (1898/1963) and Freud in *Totem and Taboo* (1913/1960)

the operations of the incest taboo need to be set against this backdrop of ethnocentrism.

Of central importance to anthropological discourses on incest taboo were the kinship configurations to arise from a system of rules around 'marriage' or exogamy. The practice of exogamy was argued to give rise to alliances (in situations of famine, war and other catastrophes, cf. La Fontaine, 1988) between kinship groupings. This was seen to be the mechanism through which names, possessions and lines of descent were transmitted. Foucault (1990) observed that the deployment of these 'discourses of alliance' set in place, through mechanisms of constraint, a framework for permitted sexual acts, like marriage rules and the suitability of partners as well as forbidden sexual contacts including incest.

A major theorist in this area was Claude Lévi Strauss (1949 /1977), who viewed the incest taboo as ensuring the 'civilised' development of humans into collaborative societal groups. The taboo, in his view, reduced the potential for conflict within the family by limiting sexual conduct to the 'married couple'. Without such rules, or taboos, 'natural man' [sic] (*ibid*, 1969: 43), would mate indiscriminately thus imperilling familial bonds and endangering the expansion and collaboration of social groups that are contingent upon the practice of exogamy. Lévi Strauss even went as far as to suggest that this practice formed the genesis of society:

By casting, so to speak, the sisters and daughters out of the consanguine group, and by assigning them to husbands coming from other groups, the prohibition creates bonds of alliance between these natural groups, the first ones that can be called social. The incest prohibition is thus the basis of human society. (Lévi Strauss, 1977: 19).

Psychoanalytically-informed accounts of incest taboo

Freud attempted in *Totem and Taboo* (Freud, 1913/1960) to account for the apparently universal 'horror of incest'. In so doing he drew upon the epistemological and methodological frameworks of traditional anthropology. He,

like the anthropologists before him, thought in highly ethnocentric terms, using Australian Aborigines as an example of pre-cultural archetypes:

We should certainly not expect that the sexual life of these poor, naked cannibals would be moral in our sense or that their sexual instincts would be subjected to any great degree of restriction. Yet we find that they set before themselves with most scrupulous care and the most painful severity the aim of avoiding incestuous sexual relations (*ibid*, 1960:2).

However, unlike Lévi-Strauss' theorising, Freud's emphasis was not on exogamy and alliance *per se*. His theory proposed that the 'horror of incest' acts as an in-built safety valve that suppressed incestuous desires, the effect of which is to regulate and stabilise the emotional relationships and sexual competition within families. Freud, in accounting for the existence of this 'in-built safety valve', expounded the 'theory of the primal horde'. In this theory the primal horde was headed by a tyrannical patriarch, who dominated his sons and monopolised sexual access to his wife and daughters. The sons – in an act of resentment – banded together to kill and subsequently eat the father. Feeling guilt over the acts of 'Oedipus' they had committed (i.e. killing their father and having sexual intercourse with their mother) and realising that they now ran the same risk that their father did in his position as patriarch, the sons 'repent' (Freud, 1960; Twitchell, 1987; Bocock, 1989). This repentance took the form of an agreement to make the women of the clan off-limits to all male family members, in so doing instituting a taboo on incest.

From Freud's perspective the incest taboo served to accommodate the destructiveness of sexual competition between a man and his sons. According to Freud, its manifold ramifications became a universal feature of the unconscious, as a phylogenetic memory trace that was storied into the consciousness of later generations 'through myth, rituals, arts, philosophy, and above all, religions' (Bocock, 1989: 81). Freud's ethnocentrism is evident in his claim that the invocation of a taboo on incest was the force that moved humans from a 'savage state', devoid of inhibitions, to a 'cultural state'. With Freud, however, a 'cultural'

state or 'civilisation' arose because incest was destructive and therefore could not be tolerated within families. Thus the operation of the taboo was attendant upon sexual repression and the constraining influences of the super-ego, rather than being necessitated by the practical exigency of survival. Unlike Westermarck's theory of sexual aversion, Freud's 'primal horde' thesis sexualised the domestic sphere (cf. Foucault, 1990) which, as I will go on to show, has been important to the more recent discursivity on incest and child sexual abuse.

Freud's fusion of psychoanalytic ideas with anthropology was taken up in Parsons' account of the incest taboo (Parsons, 1954; see also Parsons and Bales, 1955). In common with Freud and Lévi-Strauss before him, Parsons held that the prohibition of incest marked the successful accomplishment of 'culture'. Parsons' work, however, was more concerned with the ways in which culture is reproduced through processes of socialisation. For him effective socialisation takes place within the nuclear family where there is a 'proper' (i.e. non-sexual) distance between the parent and child. According to Parsons, incestuous activity is taboo since it has a potent potential to introduce the dysfunctional dynamics of 'role confusion and strain' (Parsons, 1954:118) into family life. In this, Parsons also drew upon the work of Malinowski (1940), who stressed that parental authority was inconsistent with sexual relations with children, as it would inevitably upset the authority relations and therefore the stability of the family. In other words a man who engaged in sexual relations with his daughter would lose his authority over her. Although derivative of Malinowski, the emphasis within Parsons' work was somewhat different. He argued that the taboo on incest provided the motivation for children to leave the family of origin in order to develop heterosexual affiliations outside of it. Thus, for Parsons, the function of the incest taboo was to reproduce heterosexual culture.

Some feminist critiques of discourses on the incest taboo

Feminist commentators Gayle Rubin (1975) and Judith Butler (1990) have drawn attention to the androcentrism and heterosexism at work in these anthropological discourses. Their argument is that these anthropologically informed discourses cast the incest taboo as a positive injunction that affiliates men and kin in a wider network of social relations, in order to produce a 'civilised society'. In Rubin's (1975) view this reduces women to little more than commodities, or units of exchange, within the exogamous systems so described. Butler (1990), in extending Rubin's analysis, makes the broader point that discourses on exogamy and incest taboo serve to naturalise the dominance of particular forms of gendered subjectivity through the reproduction of male and female subjects. For her, these discourses are 'yet another instance in which reason and mind are associated with masculinity and agency, while the body and nature are considered to be the mute facticity of the feminine, awaiting signification from an opposing masculine subject' (Butler, 1990:37).

Butler's argument is that women are not seen as having any active part to play in these stories of incest taboo, exogamy and the transition from 'nature' to 'culture'. Instead they are construed merely as objects of exchange or 'gifts' (cf. Mauss, 1967) that are passed between individual men or between kinship groupings. In relation to the work of Lévi-Strauss and Freud's 'primal horde' thesis, other feminists such as Herman with Hirschman (1981) and Pateman (1992) have argued that women are viewed as the possession of men and that these various accounts of the incest taboo merely codify how sexual access to them is negotiated.

Discourses on incest

Each of these theoretical accounts that I have considered so far attempt to tease out the constraining forces (such as religion, biology, instinct, social rule or super-ego) that restrict the free play of (male) sexual desires. These discourses sought to explain – somewhat speculatively in many cases – the damage that *could* be caused if incest were to occur. The operating assumptions of these discourses were that incest is *nowhere* (i.e. universally prohibited). In other words, they seek to account for why incest does not happen. When looked at from the current sensibilities of the English-speaking world, these discourses on incest taboo are largely 'historical' (in the sense that they used to be but are no longer the dominant way adult/child sex is construed) and/or 'cultural' (in the sense that they are not dominant any longer in mainstream culture but are recognised as retaining legitimacy elsewhere).

These discourses on the incest taboo were by no means the only discursivity on incest that was going on at the time, however. In other contexts incest was considered to be 'everywhere' – as an ever-present threat in need of containment and regulation. By the 19th and early 20th Centuries concerns were being expressed about the dangerous potential of incest across Europe and North America. In a similar vein to the ethnocentrism of anthropology, though, the assumption was made that incest was a problem of the Other – in this case the 'uncivilised poor' as opposed to the 'uncivilised savage'. In her historical study of family violence in America, Gordon (1989) has documented how cases of incest regularly formed part of the caseload for charity and social workers in the late 19th Century. A common belief in the USA at the time was that incestuous behaviour was concentrated amongst the immigrant poor who lived in crowded urban 'ghettoes'. In Britain 19th Century discourses on incest also saw it as arising from the bad habits and living conditions of the 'dangerous poor', whose overcrowded living conditions were thought to spawn moral degeneracy and vice-ridden lifestyles, including incest (cf. Weeks, 1981; Mort, 1987). For instance, the

philanthropist Beatrice Webb, when working for the 1884 Housing Commission, stated that: 'To put it bluntly ... sexual promiscuity, and even sexual perversion, are almost unavoidable among men and women of average character and intelligence crowded in to one-room tenement of slum areas' (cited in Weeks, 1981: 31).

The always-everywhere nature of the threat of incest is evident in the mechanisms set up to regulate it. For example, in England up until 1908 the moral authority and legislature of the church governed incest. Thereafter it was placed under secular legal jurisdiction in the form of the Punishment of Incest Act and later incorporated into The Sexual Offences Act (Weeks, 1981; La Fontaine, 1990; Bell, 1993).

Today – again, in the English-speaking world at least – the assumption that incest is *everywhere* has now become dominant. More specifically incest, or the threat of it, is regarded as being everywhere *for children* – an ever-present danger for all children and a social problem of massive proportions. Rather than being seen primarily in terms of a failure to restrict the free-play of sexual desire between closely related kin, incest is now widely understood in terms of the abusive deployment of adult (primarily male) power over children. Incest between adults (such as between brother and sister) has come to be regarded as a minor issue – if an issue at all – compared with the much more serious problem of incest between an adult and a child.

The endangered child

What has happened is that there has been a shift in what are regarded as the consequences of incest. Before it was seen as dangerous to the immortal soul (within a religious discourse); to the eugenic status of humankind (within a biologically-informed discourse); to culture (within an anthropologically-informed discourse); to psychological wellbeing (within a psychoanalytically-informed

discourse); or to the 'fabric of society' (within a sociologically-informed discourse). But now the site of dangerousness is firmly centred on the child, with the prime focus on the damage done to the child victim of incest – mainly psychological and emotional damage (cf. Brown and Finkelhor, 1986). In so shifting, the meaning of incest has also undergone change – in some discourses at least. From being a matter of sexual prohibition pivoting around what are regarded as legitimate and illegitimate kinship relationships, it is now seen as sexual prohibition pivoting around what are regarded as legitimate and illegitimate adult/child 'relationships'. Kinship no longer provides the key, but the power relationships between adults and children. Dominelli, arguing from a feminist perspective, illustrates this point well:

Feminists have focused on incest as an expression of unequal power relations within the family, and demonstrated that it is more than the genital penetration of a young girl by her father or step-father (*ibid*, 1986: 291)

The recent visibility and specificity of endangered children within discourses on incest cannot be accounted for in terms of singularised narratives of progress (e.g. that we are more concerned about the welfare of children than we were in the past). Instead I believe there were two interconnected drivers that led to the shift. Firstly there have been tectonic shifts in the epistemological frame within which incest is understood. Earlier theorisation was preoccupied with the adult world. Children were largely invisible within it – they simply did not come within its gaze. Secondly, there has been an historically specific movement within scientific, economic, technological, cultural and political discourses and mutations, arising from the 18th Century onwards, in which knowledges of the 'human subject' have, according to Rose, 'rendered knowable the normal and pathological functioning of humans' (1990: ix). Against this backdrop, discourses on child development, whilst being based on the ontologically unstable and contested construct of 'the child' (cf. James and Prout, 1990; Stainton Rogers and Stainton Rogers, 1992), have played a central role in interpolating the endangered child in discourses in incest.

The study of child development, according to Valerie Walkerdine (1984) has its roots in Darwinian theory. In studying and observing children in the same terms as other 'species' Darwin, she argues, provided the basis for the idea of natural development through the unfolding of universal sequences. Children were thus given a visibility as emerging beings and, as Walkerdine continues, were for the first time singled out as objects of scientific study and all aspects of their development came under scrutiny:

Children's bodies were weighed and measured. The effects of fatigue were studied, as were children's interests, imaginings, religious ideas, fetishes, attitudes to weather, to adults, drawings, dolls, lies, ideas, and...their stages of growth (Walkerdine, 1984: 171).

This 'developmentalism' has 'knowledge[d] into being' abnormal or pathological developmental processes (cf. Davis and Bourhill, 1997) that have come to be seen as threats to normal development. Childhood has thus come to be defined in relation to, separate from, and yet dependent upon 'adulthood'. Children's needs, thresholds for appropriate care and potential threats to their moral and physical development have all become indexed in a way that led Foucault to comment that 'childhood, which by its very nature is in danger and must be protected against every possible danger' (cited in Kritzman, 1988: 280). Evans has argued that within this context children have come to be seen 'as incorrupt but corruptible'. As a consequence they are seen as requiring interventions of various kinds to 'preserve [their] innocence and purity *en route* to adulthood'. (Evans, 1993:211). These visions of childhood as a period of moral, intellectual and physical growth gave adults the power to control, protect and discipline (cf. Burman, 1994).

Those who were defined as children provided a focal point for successive waves of social concern (Davis, 1992; Best, 1993; Zelizer, 1995; Gough, 1996). Newly emergent family forms – and their relationships to the body of social welfare – arising out of modernism and industrialisation were construed as a locus of normalisation, surveillance and intervention via, amongst others, the knowledges and practices of psy-professions (cf. Rose, 1979, 1990; Donzelot, 1980; Parton,

1991). It was within this context that a child's sexual conduct, with each other and with adults, has come to be viewed as posing a specific 'risk' to their proper development.

The story of the interpolation of the endangered child-victim within discourses on incest is by no means a simple or straightforward one. It is marked by manifold discursivity around the meaning and impact of children's sexual contact with adults. Although sexual assaults on children were documented as far back as 1856 and 1857 by French paediatricians Toulmouche and Tardieu respectively (Masson, 1984), it was not until the 1980s in Britain that the child as a *victim* of sexual assault gained discursive dominance in professional and public consciousness.

Freud's seduction theory

It was Freud's 1886 'seduction theory' that for the first time provided a theoretical framework for viewing children as victims of incest/sexual abuse. His view was informed by, and crafted out of the insights gained from a small clinical sample of 18, mainly female, so-called 'hysterics'. According to Freud, his observations demonstrated that 'at the bottom of every case of hysteria there are *one or more* occurrences of *premature sexual experience*, occurrences which belong to the earliest years of childhood'. [italics in the original] (Freud, 1896: xxx). Freud's seduction theory described incest as a common problem that occurred in *all* types of households, including those of the 'respectable' middle classes. He also highlighted the gendered nature of these assaults by stating that girls were more commonly assaulted than boys and that the perpetrators of these 'seductions' were more likely to be men (cf. Masson, 1984).

Later in 1897 Freud, however, was to recant his 'seduction theory' (see Rush, 1980; Herman with Hirschman, 1981 and Masson, 1984 for a detailed discussion). In a statement he made at the time, Freud claimed that the, unfortunately named,

'scenes of seduction' he described in his earlier work had in fact 'never taken place ... they were only phantasies which my patients had made up or which I myself had perhaps forced on them'. (Freud, 1897, cited in deMause, 1991)². Freud proposed in its place a theory that saw these *seductions* as part of the fantasy-world of the child. The Oedipus Complex (as it came to be called) was explained through the 'Primal Horde' thesis (discussed earlier in this Chapter). This was placed as a cornerstone to his theory of psychosexual development. In Freud's view, the culmination of the child's passage through the psychosexual stages of development involved the resolution of the universally lived-experienced of the Oedipus Complex, where a child falls in 'love' with, and has incestuous desires for, the parent of the opposite sex. Thus Freud's theorisation came to be based on children's resolution of their Oedipal desire rather than the effects of adults' incestuous impulses towards children (cf. Masson, 1984).

Not surprisingly Freud has come under sustained criticism for, in recanting his seduction theory, failing to expedite the recognition of child sexual abuse (Rush, 1980; Summit, 1988; Corby, 1998). When the reversal of his 'seduction theory' came to light in subsequent years Freud was charged by many feminists and practitioners with acting in bad faith in order to save face with his incredulous male peers in the scientific community (see, for example, Rush, 1980; Herman with Hirschman, 1981; Masson, 1984). As Dominelli puts it:

Having rejected women's accounts of the widespread transgression of what he saw as a primary taboo, Freud reconstructed their experiences as the product of women's seductive powers and the social thwarting of their desire (as children) to have sex with their fathers. This meant that incestuous sex could only take place in the woman's imagination (fantasy) or when they provoked their fathers into breaking this taboo (seduction). Thus, Freud held women responsible for the situation and trivialised their experiences (*ibid*, 1986: 292)

² There are clear resonances here in terms of the more contemporary debates over false versus recovered memories (see, for example, Wakefield and Underwager, 1994 and Courtols, 1999).

Whilst this is a clear implication of his retraction of his original theory of seduction, Freud's actions do need to be read against the (in today's terms sexist, adultist and bourgeois) discursive context in which these events took place. Masson (1984:49) has shown that Freud was heavily influenced by a body of work by Bouradel, Fournier and Garnier which linked together 'sexuality, hysteria and lying'. This work claimed that so-called hysterical women and children often lied about being sexually assaulted. Freud later adduced this work in order to explain the 'erroneousness' of his seduction theory. In addition to being criticised by his peers for believing the words of hysterical women and the 'lies' of inherently untruthful children, Freud was also working at a time when incest was seen as a problem located in the poorer classes. Thus his seduction theory, by claiming that incest occurred in 'good' families, in addition to disrupting received notions of male (in)culpability in sexual assaults and the untrustworthy character of women and children, it also posed a severe threat to the bourgeois sensibilities on incest of the time.

However, despite problems with the aetiology and with the theory itself, the psychosexual theory that emerged from Freud's reversal of his earlier seduction theory, whilst not 'revealing' the extent and consequences of adult/child sexual contact, did much to challenge received views of the time that sexuality in childhood was inherently dangerous. His work was influential, for example, in challenging the perception of masturbation as a hidden, solitary vice with harmful consequences, albeit to suggest that this activity was part of an orderly set of stages of undirected sexuality, through which all children pass.

Asserting children's sexuality

Even at the time, Freud's account of the psychosexual stages of development did not go uncontested. Within what Gagon and Parker (1995) refer to as the sexological genre (covering the period from 1890-1980), discourses on sexuality tended to be viewed within a framework of acceptance and liberation. Sexologists

such as Ellis (1913); Reich (1927); Kinsey *et al* (1948, 1953); and Money and Tucker (1975) all regarded sex as natural and sought through their work to remove the cultural constraints that were placed upon it. One classic example of this genre was the work of Wilhelm Reich who, in a re-working of Freud's psychosexual theory, argued that children should be free – and indeed encouraged – to express their sexuality without any form of repression, as repressed sexual appetites would eventually lead to problems in adulthood.

This shift to seeing children as benignly sexual clearly informed some of the early work conducted with cases of child sexual assault. For example, two psychiatrists, Bender and Blau (1937) argued that sexual contact between adults and children was not only relatively harmless but that there were occasions when children sought out these contacts for themselves:

These children undoubtedly do not deserve completely the cloak of innocence which they have been endowed by moralists, social reformers and legislators. ... These children were distinguished as unusually charming and attractive in their outward personalities. Thus it was not remarkable that we frequently considered the possibility that the child might have been the actual seducer rather than the one innocently seduced (Bender and Blau, 1937: 512).

The later work of Kinsey and his associates (1948, 1953) can also be viewed in this context. They claimed to substantiate Freudian insights into the sexual child, whilst at the same time refuting the idea of a sexually latent or dormant period in their development. They argued that this inactivity resulted from parental and social repression and was not due to the natural ebb of libidinal energy. In their 1948 volume – *Sexual Behaviour in the Human Male* – Kinsey *et al* provided detailed records of the sexual capabilities of boys which, at the time, did not provoke widespread concerns over the sexual abuse of children even though it documented numerous cases of adult/child sexual contact. It is worth quoting Kinsey *et al* at length to demonstrate this point:

Better data on pre-adolescent climax come from the histories of adult males who have had sexual contacts with younger boys and who, with their adult backgrounds, are able to recognize and interpret the boys' experiences. ... 9 of our adult male subjects have observed such orgasm. Some of these adults are technically trained persons who have kept diaries or

other records which have been put at out disposal; and from them we have secured information on 317 pre-adolescents who were either observed in self masturbation, or who were observed in contacts with other boys or older adults. ... Many [of the boys] had had sexual contacts with one or more adults. ... Orgasm has been observed in boys of every age from 5 months to adolescence. ... Orgasm is in our records for a female babe of 4 months (Kinsey et al, 1948: 177)

The Kinsey team also discharged children's allegations of rape and sexual assault, again without high degrees of criticism (cf. Herman with Hirschman, 1981). They argued that, when it comes to strangers, 'many small girls' interpret 'the affection and simple caressing' that their 'parents and grandparents are wont to bestow upon' them as acts of attempted rape (1948: 238). Their work did not give the child victim a specificity, and construed adult/child sexual contacts within and outside the family as essentially harmless:

It is difficult to understand why a child, except for its cultural conditioning, should be disturbed at having its genitalia touched, or disturbed at seeing the genitalia of other persons, or disturbed at even more specific sexual contacts (Kinsey, 1953:121)

With more contemporary discourses, particularly those arising out of welfarism and child protection, childhood sexuality is largely viewed within an intelligibility focussing on the regulation and constraint of adult sexuality. So whilst childhood sexuality is accepted as 'present' in the Freudian sense, it is viewed as being quite different from adult sexuality and hence as needing to be kept separate from it (see, for example, Jones and Bentovim, 1988). Foucault, although not in agreement with it, summarised this position well:

children's sexuality is a specific sexuality, with its own forms, its own periods of maturation, its own highpoints, its specific drives, and own latency periods too. The sexuality of the child is virgin territory that an adult must not enter. (Foucault, in Kritzman, 1988:276).

Corteen and Scraton (1997) point out the inherent naivety of attempting to keep separate adult and child sexuality. Children, they argue, are saturated with gendered and sexualised discursivity yet are expected to remain passive onlookers, locked within a kind of unquestioning sexual innocence. This presumption of innocence and the regulatory processes that safeguard it result, in their view, in a situation where children are denied access to information and

knowledge concerning their physical and sexual development. Furthermore, as Kitzinger (1988) and Stainton Rogers and Stainton Rogers (1999) note, representations of children (particularly in the media) often portray them in sexually alluring ways. Adults, they argue, are well aware of a child's capacity to be 'sexual' (in 'adult' terms) and are fully prepared to exploit this in order to sell a wide range of products. What they do not allow, however, as Stainton Rogers and Stainton Rogers observe 'is for children to act as agents of their own sexuality' (1999: 194).

Adult sexuality is construed in today's terms as harmful to children and as endangering childhood. A child's sexual involvement with an adult is commonly viewed as a marker of 'childhood's end' (cf. Evans, 1993). The child's proper development into adulthood is thought to be distorted through being prematurely engaged into the adult world of sexuality (e.g. Courtois, 1979, 1999). Their sexual(ised) behaviour is also thought to provide a reflective surface from which the damage caused by sexual contacts with adults can be read (Kendall-Tackett, Williams and Finkelhor, 1993). In the longer term, sexual contacts with adults are thought to affect the type of adults the children will become: pathologised³.

My argument is that the individual and collective dangers described in discourses on incest taboo have, within discourses on incest-as-abuse, converged upon the psychic inner world of the child. This discursive shift, which can in part be accounted for in terms of the rise in discourses on the individual subject, is an important one. Additionally, the child who is discursively located as being 'abused' also invokes the subject position of *dangerous* adults who have abused or pose a

³ There is a vast body of literature documenting the long-term effects of a child's sexual contact with an adult. See O'Dell, 1998; Wachtel and Scott, 1991; Hall and Lloyd, 1989 for reviews.

threat to them. As King and Piper put it, 'behind each abused child looms an abusing adult' (1995:65).

The regulation of childhood sexuality

In *The History of Sexuality* Foucault argued that, sometime in 19th Century, sex came to hold a privileged place in discourses on the subject. According to Foucault (1990), sex was inscribed in an ordered system of knowledge – a system that held sexuality as having a unitary essence embedded within the individual, and harbouring a deep and unique 'truth to our being'. Scientific discourse constructed a normalised account of sexuality (i.e. one which is heterosexual, monogamous, restricted to marriage and procreative in purpose) that was based on a system of binary opposites (e.g. men/women, adults/children). This classificatory system powerfully shaped people's lives and experience (cf. Rose, 1990; Gagon and Parker, 1995) and, according to Foucault, was used to fashion the type of workforce that would best suit the needs of capitalism. At the same time aberrant sexuality was also credited with causing individual problems and as therefore requiring regulation. Foucault identified what he referred to as 'four great strategies of regulation' in his work, namely: *the hystericisation of women's bodies; the socialisation of procreative behaviour; the psychiatrisation of perverse pleasure and the pedagogisation of children's sex*. Given the subject matter of this thesis, I will concentrate on the last of these.

For Foucault, the issue of sexuality in childhood was a particularly dense transfer point for the operations of power and knowledge. As Jackson has noted: 'If we regard children as a special category of people and sexuality as a special area of life then any meeting between the two is likely to be explosive.' (Jackson, 1982: 23). Hence the 'sexual child' is seen to pose a specific risk to him/herself. Masturbation – or self-abuse as it was then known – was seen to lay the foundations for a series of 'physical, mental and moral maladies' (Walling, 1909:34 cited in Stainton Rogers and Stainton Rogers, 1992; see also Newman,

1975; Hacking, 1991; Stainton Rogers, R., 1989; Stainton Rogers and Stainton Rogers, 1999). In response to these concerns, Foucault (1990) argued, a machinery of heterogeneous pedagogic practices has been set in place. These subject children to constant surveillance by parents, educators and doctors, mobilised to detect and combat the child's self-abusive practices. This machinery Foucault saw as part of a wider *deployment of sexuality* and institutionalisation of sex that simultaneously denied and controlled childhood sexuality⁴. All of which, I would argue, have had an impact upon the contemporary discursive arena of adult/child sex.

Discourses on child sexual abuse

The 'discovery' of child abuse

Many authors have argued that child abuse was 'discovered' (in the sense that it became highly visible on the agenda of social concern) following the 1874 case of Mary Ellen Wilson, a girl, living in New York, who had been repeatedly chained, beaten and starved by her adoptive parents (Nelson, 1986; Stainton Rogers, W. 1989; Zigler and Hall, 1989). The fact that Mary Ellen's adoptive parents were prosecuted under a law originally intended for the protection of animals led to the formation of the first documented child protection society: *The New York Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children* (or *The SPCC* as it came known). The SPCC provided the model and impetus for the *National Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children* (NSPCC), founded twenty years later years in Britain (Nelson, 1986; Morgan and Zender, 1992). However, despite this notorious case, it took the radiological 're-discoveries' of child abuse by Caffey some 70 years later, in 1947; Wolley and Evans in 1957; and the later work of Kempe (1962), before the physical abuse of children was afforded a high public profile in the

⁴ The implications of this for adult sexuality will be considered in Chapter 7.

United States, and even later in Britain following the highly publicised cases involving the deaths of Maria Colewell and Jasmine Beckford, (see Parton, 1985). Large numbers of children at this time were found to be subject to a variety of 'non accidental' injuries that were wilfully inflicted by 'dangerous' parents and caretakers, who were given a visibility as (intentional and unintentional) abusers of children.

Child sexual abuse

The tectonic interplay and conflation of discourses on the modern child, sexuality and child (physical) abuse, amplified and placed concerns for children at the centre of discourses on incest, so much so that the 'social problem' of child sexual abuse has mobilized social concerns about the child in a way that other concerns (including 'incest' and physical abuse) have failed to do (cf. Finkelhor, 1994). Prior to the 1970s 'child abuse' was treated as a discursive domain that was distinct from incest. One effect of this interplay and conflation, however, gave rise to the radical extension of the previously narrow concept of incest (Hacking, 1992; 1995; Gough, 1996). Incest was given the new/additional name 'child sexual abuse' (Hacking, 1992; Best, 1993) so as to capture the wide range of sexual assaults that the child may be subjected to. Because children's sexuality was regarded as essentially incompatible with that of adult sexuality, incest and indeed any form of sexual contact involving children was seen to be as, if not more, damaging than even the most severe forms of physical abuse. Thus the emphasis was now shifted from acts that might end a child's life to those which were thought to ruin it (Campbell, 1988)

Stranger Danger

Sometime in the early 20th Century the locus of concern about adult-child sex moved to non-family members and strangers (Gordon, 1988). The focus of these concerns, at least in the public domain, shifted onto the child who was in danger

of being sexually molested by 'strangers' outside of the home. The 'stranger' within these discourses was epitomised by a furtive, shifty-eyed, rain-coated character, who would habitually lurk outside school gates, or in parks, using sweets or other bribes to persuade children to go with him (Search, 1988). Public campaigns and preventative programmes (e.g. Kidscape) were mounted to protect children from this menace, empowering them to say "NO" to such strangers and putative molesters. This strategy, according to feminists such as MacLeod and Saraga (1988, 1991), Kitzinger, (1990) and Armstrong (1996) was misguided for two reasons. Firstly, they pointed out that teaching children that they can say 'no' to adults gives them an illusory sense of power, and a false belief that in many cases they can stop the abuse. Adults, they argue, have a variety of strategies at their disposal, (e.g. brute force, adult authority and inveiglement) in order to engage a child in sexual activity with them. If a child, despite "saying no" is unsuccessful in stopping the abuse, they may be implicitly blamed by others, or blame themselves, for the continuation of the abuse. The second point that they raise is that concern about 'stranger danger' provides a smokescreen that masks the fact that the majority of sexual assaults take place within in the home, or involve individuals who are known to, and/or trusted by, the child. This, according to Gordon (*op cit*), acted to conceal the fact that it is sexual abuse within the family which is more common. Thus constructions of the dangerous adult as 'stranger' gave way to constructions of the sexual abuser as a family member or someone who is a trusted adult known to the child (such as a social worker, scout leader or teacher). Within this particular gaze, child (sexual) abuse was very much seen as a professional discovery that required professionalised responses to the 'problem' (see Parton, 1985 for a discussion). This view of child sexual abuse, as I will show later, was criticised by a number of feminist scholars, practitioners and activists.

Defining Child Sexual Abuse

Part of the shift from the view that incest as nowhere to incest as everywhere that I described earlier can be accounted for in terms of the way in which incest has been defined. As the discourse on child sexual abuse came to reflect a range and diversity of sexual behaviours directed towards the child (Clegg, 1994), traditional definitions of incest, particularly as contained in the law, were seen as being too restrictive and failing to reflect the specificity and visibility of the abused child. For example, in England and Wales, incest is defined by the Sexual Offences Act of 1956. In common with earlier discourses on incest taboo, this legislation is concerned with a narrow range of behaviour relating to acts of heterosexual intercourse between kin that are, in most cases, prohibited to marry (cf. La Fontaine, 1988). Under Scottish law (The Incest and Related Offences Act of 1986) incest is defined in wider terms that includes kin but also encompasses authority structures within the family, so nieces/nephews, uncles/aunts, adoptive and step-parents are also included in the Scottish definition of incest.

In terms of reflecting the newly visible phenomenon of child sexual abuse, conducting research, and campaigning on behalf of the 'child victim', these legal definitions of incest were elided by numerous and all-encompassing 'operational' definitions. These operational definitions regarded 'sexual intercourse' and the 'blood-tie' – that were central to discourses on incest taboo – as largely being 'red-herrings' (cf. Rhodes and McNeill, 1981), preferring instead to define child sexual abuse in much broader terms which have enmeshed within them the more recent constructions of the 'endangered' child. One definition that is commonly used was offered by Schechter and Roberge who argue that child sexual abuse is:

The involvement of dependent, developmentally immature children and adolescents in sexual activities that they do not fully comprehend, and are unable to give informed consent to that violate the social taboos of the family roles... [thereby] rob[bing] them of their developmentally determined control over their bodies. (cited in Kempe and Kempe, 1978: 60).

This definition, however, has been criticised for failing to convey a number of the central features of child sexual abuse, including the power differentials between the adult and child, the range of dangerous adults who pose a sexual threat to children, and the coerced and harmful nature of the abuse. Sgroi, Blick and Porter and Blume capture in their definitions of child sexual abuse a number of the elements that are considered to be absent from Schechter and Roberge's definition:

Child sexual abuse is a sexual act imposed on a child who lacks emotional, maturational, and cognitive development. The ability to lure a child into a sexual relationship is based upon the all-powerful and dominant position of the adult or older adolescent perpetrator, which is in sharp contrast to the child's age, dependency, and subordinate position. Authority and power enable the perpetrator, implicitly or directly, to coerce the child into sexual compliance. (Sgroi, Blick and Porter, 1988: 14)

Incest has many subtle faces. Incest can be an uncle showing pornographic pictures to a 4-year-old. It can be a father masturbating as he hovers outside the bathroom where his child is, or one who barges in without knocking. It can be a school bus driver forcing a student to sit with him, fondling her under her skirt at the traffic lights. ... It can be the way a father stares at his daughter's developing body, and the comments he makes. It can be the way an aunt caresses her nieces when she visits. It can be the forced exposure to the sights and sounds of one or both parents' sexual acts. It can occur through father and mother forcing their child to touch or be touched by other children while pictures are being taken. (Blume, 1989:297).

Feminist informed definitions have extended the concept yet further, for example, Dominelli has argued that:

Feminists have broadened the definitions [of incest] so that unwanted sexual advances occurring within intimate social relations which replicate familial ones have come within its ambit (*ibid*, 1986: 291).

In her view incest/child sexual abuse is properly defined as:

[A]ll unwanted sexual advances that occur between individuals who are involved in relationships of trust and in which one individual is subordinate to and possibly dependent upon the other...feminist definitions suggest that there is a continuum of sexual abuse ranging from flashing and being touched up to rape which can be classified as incest if it occurs within a position of trust (Dominelli, 1986: 291).

Due to these wide and widely varying definitions of child sexual abuse/incest (Hearne, 1988; Gough, 1996) this discursive arena of can be described as a 'chaotic conception' (Clegg, 1994:32). The generic term 'child sexual abuse',

however, homogenises and makes sense of multiplicity by applying a simplifying taxonomic logic and commonality to the diverse phenomena, experiences, and acts that are deployed in these operationalisations of the term (Hacking, 1992; 1995). So, fondling and touching, as well as non-physical sexual contacts have come to be seen to be as much 'sexual abuse' as sexual intercourse (O'Donohue, 1992; Hacking, 1992, 1995).

When taken together these and other operational definitions of child sexual abuse encapsulate and denote a wide range of culturally defined sexual transgressions and categories of 'deviant' sexual conduct involving children (cf. La Fontaine, 1988, Clegg, 1994). However, they do not provide a framework of universal agreement (Gough, 1996). These definitions also, by implication, set out the normative constructions of the child as powerless, dependent; and as occupying a discursive location wherein they are unable to consent to, and are always harmed by, adult sexual contact.

In other words, definitions of child sexual abuse treat 'all sexual acts involving children under a certain age ... as bad and therefore are counted together' (Clegg, 1994:38). These definitions are not the neutral descriptions of the ontological reality of adult/child sex, but are, as Parton *et al*, (1997) argue, the 'product of social negotiation between different values and beliefs, different social norms and professional knowledges and perspectives about children, child development and parenting' (*ibid*: 67). In addition, as Vander Mey (1992) points out, these definitions carry with them an 'implicit assumption and guiding principle' that adult/child sexual contact 'is wrong and that something ought to be done to halt this form of abuse' (*ibid*: 1992: 206). All of which are crucial in affecting perceptions of the problem, views about the issues, as well as informing research questions (Kelly and Radford, 1998).

Public perceptions of child sexual abuse

The refinement and development of communication technologies, particularly during the latter half of the 20th Century, means that a particular interpretation – in this case the ‘child sexual abuse’ interpretation of adult/child sex – can be disseminated to greater numbers of people than at any time in the past. These technologies have not only spread information and raised public awareness about the extent of ‘the problem’, they also shape people’s attitudes through the cases that are selected for reporting. These cases tend to be ‘newsworthy’ in the sense that they are high profile and sensational and tend to be reported in stylised and stereotypical ways. As Davis and Bourhill note:

[A] bruise sustained by a child from a violent parent, should it ever reach the attention of the media, would be classified as less newsworthy than a similar injury sustained in the street, or inflicted on an adult (particularly an older person) by a child or young person. The infliction of violence on children by adults is not newsworthy unless it is ‘excessive’... (*ibid*, 1997: 37).

Through this process certain types of extreme and horrific activities become the prototype of child sexual abuse (Grady, 1983; Fox Harding, 1991; Hacking, 1995), whilst the issue is both defined and counted in much broader terms (Best, 1993). This has the effect of shaping public perceptions so that more serious cases of abuse are seen to happen in greater frequency and is one of the ways in which, as Thorpe argues, child sexual abuse has become a ‘decontextualised and highly emotive signifier’ (*ibid*, 1994:198).

The tectonic debating of adult/child sex

The discursive arena of adult/child sex construed as child sexual abuse has, in recent years, produced an ever increasing array of differently positioned voices (cf. Stenner and Ecclestone, 1994), with competing claims for power, truth and control over defining the problem and its solutions (cf. Parton, 1985; Best, 1990, 1993; Hacking, 1992; Howe, 1992). Crucially, from a critical polytextualist

position, such debates do not take place between a set of disinterested observers. They are articulated by groups who have personal, professional and/or political interests in defining the problem in particular ways, and hence affecting people's perceptions of 'the problem' and its 'solutions' (Best, 1993). Indeed, one of the focal interests in this thesis is to explore the claims making that is implicated by the adoption of particular discursive positions. Feminist, New Right and Family Systems discourses alongside the 'professional' discourses already discussed provide an arena where such tectonic debates over meaning occur.

Feminist Discourses

Within the discourses on incest taboo that were considered earlier in this chapter it was deemed that either biological preprogramming, moral and religious condemnation or expectations around the operations of the family were sufficient deterrents against the conduct of incest. As was previously shown, feminist discursivity on incest/child sexual abuse has, at various times in various places, reconceptualised and challenged these discourses. In particular, feminists such as Ward (1985) and Armstrong (1978) have asserted that, rather than being the harmonious, protective and nurturing safe haven that it is purported to be, the family is the primary site, or the 'eye of the storm' (Coppock, 1997) where the sexual abuse of children is enacted.

The discourse on child sexual abuse has been accommodated into wider feminist theories on the gendered subject (e.g. Kelly, 1988; Kitzinger, 1992) and the broader critique of the traditional familial ideology as reflecting – in microcosm – oppressive patriarchal social orders (see, for example, Nelson, 1982; Thorne, 1982; Pateman, 1992; Gittins, 1993). The argument here is that the vested interests of men, male ideology and experience are elided by traditional formulations of the family (see Coppock, 1997 for a discussion). According to a number of feminists (e.g. Brownmiller, 1975; Ward, 1985; Nelson, 1982; Herman and Hirschman, 1977, 1981; Rush, 1980; MacLeod and Saraga, 1988, Armstrong,

1996), this so-called 'harmonious' and 'nurturing' unit is, in actual fact, predicated on dependency and obedience, where men hold sovereign power over women and children (especially girls). This, in addition to the privatised nature of the nuclear family (Gordon, 1989) provides men with access to the bodies of women and children (cf. Gittins, 1993); it allows them to do as they please – and get away with it.

Thus child sexual abuse within feminist discourses is viewed as a widespread phenomenon (Adams, Trachtenberg and Fisher, 1992), arising from the social legitimisation of unequal power relations (Dominelli, 1986) through which women and children are subjugated and abused by the economic and social power of men, as well as through the predatory nature of male sexuality. Children's oppression is thus understood as part of the broader picture of women's oppression (Clegg, 1994). Feminist analyses have therefore given child sexual abuse a specificity and visibility through a deconstruction of the essentially White, Western (specifically British/North American), heterosexual, Christian (cf. Williams, 1994) model of the traditional family (see, in particular, Thorne, 1982) and male power/sexuality (cf. Humphreys and Hooper, 1998). It is through this deconstruction that the various claims are made about the *dangerousness* of normative family values and normal constructs of male behaviour (e.g. Ward, 1985).

New Right Discourses

This critique of the family and patriarchy has placed feminist discourses at odds with New Right discourses on child sexual abuse. These discourses, epitomised by Thatcherite doctrine in the UK and Reaganism in the US, came into prominence in 1970s and 1980s Britain, largely as a reaction against the perceived excesses of the 1960s (Weeks, 1992). New right discourses are themselves a tectonic enjoining of discourses based on economic new right liberal policies of minimum state intervention, neo-liberal principles of individual

responsibility and morality (Parton, 1985), and the moral new right resurgence of Christian values pertaining particularly to the family (Abbott and Wallace, 1992). Thus, as Parton (*op cit*) has argued, whilst there was a generally reduced role for the state, it retained a remit to intervene to combat permissiveness that was held to encourage social disorder.

The family, construed as providing a safe haven for the moral and physical development of children, was a particular target for such interventions as it was seen as a key prop, or bedrock, of the local moral order – a place where wider societal values were taught and enforced. So-called ‘perverse sexual relations’ (e.g. non-monogamous, non-heterosexual and sexual conduct outside of marriage (c.f. Rubin, 1992) and the ‘deviant’ and ‘dangerous’ sexual politics of homosexual and feminist militancy (Weeks, 1992; Davis and Bourhill, 1997), were all construed as potent symbols which imperil the traditional values of marriage and the family (Weeks, 1992).

Despite the commonly held view among child welfare professionals that children are most at risk in family settings, child sexual abuse was thus viewed within a context of the waning traditional familial values and ‘bonds’. This, it was argued, was brought about through successive generations of weak parenting, divorce and single parenting, (see Abbott and Wallace, 1992; Corteen and Scraton, 1997). Women who were ‘absent’ from the home (due, for example to work or social obligations) were targeted for particular criticism. Women who were not centrally located in the home were seen to undermine the idealised construct of the ‘nurturant mother’ at the symbolic core of the family, whose proper role was to meet the emotional, physical and sexual needs of other family members (Thorne, 1982; Gittins, 1993). By being unavailable to meet these needs – especially the sexual needs of the father – the mother was seen to pose a particular threat to the family. According to this view, her absence means that she is unavailable to ‘civilise’ and ‘domesticate’ male sexual impulses. In an argument that is

intertextual with the discourses on incest previously considered, Gilder – a proponent of the New Right in America – sees the:

crucial process of civilisation is the subordination of male sexual impulses and psychology to long-term horizons of female biology...It is male behaviour that must be changed to create a civilised order...Women domesticate and civilize male nature. They can destroy civilized male identity merely by giving up the role (Gilder, cited in Armstrong, 1996: 66).

Gilder's argument is that, if not constrained by the mother within a traditional family set-up, men's naturally aggressive, destructive sexual impulses would run amok resulting in – amongst other things – the sexual abuse of children. By assuming it to be normal, innate and uncontrollable, these discourses on the 'male sexual drive' evoke a form of female control on two counts. Firstly, by rendering this naturally uncontrollable sexuality as something that can be brought under the control of women (cf. Levett, 1990), it means that women are held responsible for the conduct of men. Secondly, these discourses can have the effect of regulating the conduct of women and children in many aspects of their lives, for example, by making them 'fearful' of men and/or situations where they may they fall victim to these uncontrollable desires (Kelly, 1988). It also has implications for men, so defined. In addition to failing to provide an appropriate constraining mechanism for the male sexual drive (cf. Hollway, 1984), the mother's 'absence' from the home is also argued to provide unspoken permission for a sexual 'relationship' to develop between father and her daughter (Armstrong, 1996). These new right discourses have both tectonically shaped, and been shaped by, traditional 'family systems' approaches to child sexual abuse.

Family Systems Theory

The operating assumptions of traditional family systems theory is, in addition to it being essentially 'good', the family is viewed as a single entity made up of functional sub-units (e.g. Furniss, 1983). Sexual abuse, within this context, is seen as being either symptomatic of, or the solution to dysfunctional family operations (Mrazek and Bentovim, 1981). By locating the 'problem' of incest/child sexual

abuse in a few 'deviant' or pathological families, these approaches dovetail with New Right discourses. This model of the family, in common with new right discourses, was underpinned by a (functionalist/new right) sexual division of labour, where men provide for the instrumental/material/disciplinary needs of the family and women the expressive/emotional/nurturant needs. Any deviations from this model 'were regarded as dysfunctional' (Hooper and Humphreys, 1998:567) and usually focussed upon perceptions of the mother's behaviour, for example if they were absent from the home, ill, or 'psychologically distant' (see, for example, Lustig, Dresser, Spellman and Murray, 1966; Maisch, 1973; Browning and Boatman, 1977; Furniss, 1992).

Some (early) family systems discourses even went as far as explicitly blaming the mother for the conduct of men:

[T]here is a conscious or unconscious sanction of the non participant mother who must contribute to the assignment of the daughter in her place to care for the sexual, affectional, and nurturant deprivation of the father...Despite the overt culpability of the fathers, we were impressed with their psychological passivity in the transactions leading to incest. The mother appeared to be the cornerstone in the pathological family system'. (Lustig, Dresser, Spellman and Murray, 1966: 38-39).

The mother is deficient in practical as well as emotional support for the children. She becomes their 'pseudo-equal' and one of the children may take on the role of mother...The child is 'sacrificed' to regulate ...conflict and avoid family breakdown (Porter, 1984:12).

As such the constellation of family relationships – with the mother as the lynchpin – were seen as providing the enabling conditions for abuse. Thus, the causality for sexual abuse was construed, to paraphrase Bentovim (1990:41) as 'circular' rather than 'linear', where 'Individuals are "caught in a dance with one another". Amongst the manifold feminist objections to this approach was that it diverted attention from the abusing male by – at best – sharing but more commonly re-directing the responsibility for the abuse onto non-abusing women (Hooper, 1987; MacLeod and Saraga, 1988) who failed to fulfil their family obligations defined by these discourses. These approaches were also criticised because they failed to recognise the:

power relations within families (of gender as well as generation), nor of their relationship to the social context within which families lived (Hooper and Humphreys, 1998: 567)

Family systems epistemologies were also criticised for adopting a 'nurturing' rather than 'punitive' approach to the abuser (see, for example, Giaretto and Giaretto, 1990).

Other professional responses not drawing explicitly on family systems theory have also been criticised. Feminist analyses have challenged claims over the 'professional discoveries' of child sexual abuse that were considered earlier in this Chapter. The claim that is made is that the widespread nature of abuse was revealed through grassroots work conducted by feminists in women's centres, rape crisis centres and refuges (e.g. Armstrong, 1991). These provided women and children with a safe space, outside of the family setting, wherein the extent of their past and present abuse could be revealed (see Dominelli, 1986, 1989; Kelly, 1988, 1989; Adams *et al*, 1992; Davies, 1995; Armstrong, 1996; Hagemann-White, 1998).

Furthermore, it is argued that child sexual abuse was not established on the agenda of social concern due to the activities of professionals, but as a result of feminist awareness raising, campaigning and scholarship – although this is not often acknowledged as such. As Kelly notes:

We [feminists] have always had a dual track position in relation to sexual violence: campaigning for professionals and the state to take on the issues whilst building autonomous women's organisations in the community. In the late 1980s it is the professionals and the state who are centre stage. We are on occasion credited with having raised the issues, but it is clearly now time for the 'real experts' to take over (Kelly, 1989:14).

Additionally, feminist discourses have challenged state and non-feminist professional responses to child sexual abuse as these are seen to obviate (in common with family systems theory), by de-politicising and de-gendering, male acts of abusive conduct towards girls and women (Armstrong, 1991). It is also claimed that such discourses erroneously pathologise a few 'dysfunctional'

individuals and families, instead of seeing child sexual abuse as the inevitable and widespread outcome of normal constructions of men and the (Western, nuclear) family (cf. Frost and Stein, 1989), a point which Armstrong and Dominelli make forcefully:

When we [feminists] first exploded the news that this crime against children was routine and widespread, we did so within a feminist framework of the exposure of multiple, licensed violences against women and children; battering, rape, marital rape...Our analysis, our understanding, placed child sexual abuse squarely within this framework, identifying it as a ...male right; as normal, not deviant (Armstrong, 1991: 29).

Abuse in the form of violence against women is a normal feature of patriarchal relations. It is a major vehicle men use in controlling women. As such, it is the norm and not an aberration...Defining his behaviour as an aberration from the norm is, therefore, dangerous (Dominelli, 1989: 12)

Rather than stopping, preventing or even reducing sexual abuse, atomistic and individualistic interventions are seen to create a false distinction between 'normal' and 'abnormal' individuals and families (cf. Rose, 1996a, see also, Dominelli, 1989) – a distinction which many feminists seek to blur. Feminists have also contested new right and family systems discourses along similar lines. This time the distinction is specifically drawn between those 'dysfunctional' families which deviate from traditional models (i.e. women who – for whatever reasons – do not conform to these ideals and are hence held responsible for the abuse) and those 'functional' families which do not. The net effect of all of these discourses, from a feminist perspective, is that only certain families and men within them, rather than *all* families and – by implication – *all* men, are spotlighted.

Feminist discourses also singularise child sexual abuse, for example by viewing 'men' as an essentially oppressive homogenized group and patriarchy as an all encompassing unitary concept (Clegg, 1996; Featherstone and Lancaster 1997). It is also the case that by viewing children as politically analogous to women in terms of their subordination under patriarchy children are still subject to paternalist protection of women.

Claims making

As I have shown in this Chapter, the discursive arena of child sexual abuse gives rise to considerable contestation and debate. In each case the rhetorics that are deployed have at least as much to do with the interests of the protagonists who promote them, as they do with the sexually abused child on whose behalf they claim to speak (c.f. Spector and Kritsue, 1987; Grady, 1983). Constructionist studies often seek to identify and explore the claims-makers' interests in constituting a particular assemblage of social phenomena as a 'social problem'. This is based on the assumption that claim-makers have a stake in the particular version of reality they endorse. They may gain prestige, power, financial gain, professional advancement and the symbolic benefits of affirming the goodness of their values, ideology or lifestyle – or some or all of these (c.f. Best, 1993). These debates tectonically transform and produce the objects of their discourses (cf. Rose, 1991; Stenner and Ecclestone, 1994), typifying and characterising it as a problem of a particular sort (Best, 1989; 1993). This reducing and distilling process acts to make particular truth claims that can then be used to contest the truth claims of others. My argument is that there is no context-free, neutral or disinterested means with which to judge between these various claims, as they each always enmeshed with moral, political and ideological concerns (cf. Sampson, 1991; Stenner and Ecclestone, 1994; Lather, 1990; Parton *et al.*, 1997). Child sexual abuse is constructed and reconstructed at the juncture of all of these debates, leading to an extricably linked set of concerns where politics, policy and practice are knotted together. What is at issue in this thesis then are the competing claims over adult engagement in sex with children.

Chapter review and prospect

This chapter has sought to both illustrate the way that the analytics of genealogy and tectonics can be applied, and to argue a case for their application within a critical polytextualist approach to knowledge. The genealogical analysis traced the

emergence of 'child sexual abuse' as a dominant concern, one that superseded the previously dominant concern with incest. By contrast the tectonic analysis highlighted the 'discursive ecology' of child sexual abuse operating at any particular time and place. Thus, rather than being a self-evident category of 'deviance', adult/child sex as child sexual abuse is a discursive arena that has been constituted, and 'shows itself' (cf. Stenner and Ecclestone, 1994) through highly contextual forms of thinking. These forms of thinking have no singular, linear history (Foucault, 1988) but are constituted at the intersections of a profusion of entangled 'historically sedimented' (cf. Stenner and Ecclestone, 1994), multiply construed (Gergen, 1994), cultural contingencies. Furthermore, these contingencies are marked out by a nexus of indeterminacy and morality, where moral conclusions are often tied to singularizing explanations and standpoints (cf. Clegg, 1994) that provide a 'vocabulary of feelings' (Rose, 1996:138) and a set of material practices relating to childhood, gender, sexuality, the law, the state and the family (cf. Finkelhor, 1994). Furthermore, the discursive arena of child sexual abuse provides a grid of intelligibility and a means by which subjects may be enjoined or divided through the codification of permitted and forbidden sexual acts (Foucault, 1988). In this way discourses on child sexual abuse pick out and describe a class of act and a class of actor to be problematized and subjected to hegemonically informed normalising judgements (Rose, 1996)

This Chapter, through a selective consideration of the literature on incest and upon 'child sexual abuse', has sought to demonstrate that the current discourses operating in relation to concern about adult/child sex have a complex and shifting lineage. Moreover, I have used this review to highlight what is often concealed by contemporary disputes on the topic – its historical and cultural specificity. The impression is often given that all that is at issue are different interpretations of why, say, such large numbers of children are sexually abused, or what factors make children vulnerable to such abuse. Among the vast majority of professionals

and academics working in this field, it is unthinkable that there is any other way of construing adult/child sex other than as child sexual abuse.

The next four chapters set out the empirical work I conducted in order to achieve two main outcomes:

to document the 'all adult/child sex is sexual abuse' discourse in detail, to examine its various instantiations, and to trace its various theoretical underpinnings;

to identify some of the competing accounts of adult/child sex that can be found still operating in British society, and explore the challenges they pose to the dominant discourse.

It is to these empirical studies that the thesis now turns its attention.

INTRODUCTION TO SECTION 2

This section of the thesis is intended to lend empirical support to the arguments that were introduced in Chapter 1 and developed in Chapter 3. These were that 'child sexual abuse' is not some naturally occurring phenomenon, but rather has been socially constructed as a 'social problem' by discursive labour, and is just one of a number of different 'readings' of what we should make of adult/child sex. Chapter 2 considered the methodological requirements for gaining access to these different 'readings' and examining the ways in which they have been 'discoursed into being'. In this section I describe three empirical explications of these different readings and the discursive labour involved in constructing and maintaining them. The section consists of Chapters 4, 5 and 6, each of which explores one of the Q-sets included in the Q-methodological study that was conducted for this thesis.

This study was based on participants sorting three Q-sets:

1. Explanations for child sexual abuse (described in Chapter 4);
2. Standpoints taken towards, and definitions of, child sexual abuse (described in Chapter 5);
3. Views on social policy, which should be adopted to tackle sexual abuse (described in Chapter 6).

These Q-sets were administered to 73 people, each of whom completed all three. The reporting and discussing of the data obtained from this study has been split into three chapters, simply to make the large amount of data that were obtained more manageable. This Introduction has therefore been included to provide the technical details of how this Q study was planned, administered and analysed.

Designing the Q-sets

Sampling the concourse of child sexual abuse

In Chapter 2 a concourse was described as a 'bounded universe of possible elements from which discourses are configured' (Curt, 1994: 120). A Q-study provides participants with a sample of these elements, usually in the form of written propositions or items. Each proposition can be seen as a particular 'element of order' (Stenner and Watts, 1997/998: 43) that asserts something about the topic being investigated. Through the action of sorting these propositions, participants in Q-studies configure them into an account, viewpoint or discursive position on the topic in question.

Given the extensive range of textual elements and modalities constituting any given concourse it is impractical for any researcher to try to include in the Q-set every proposition that is salient to the topic of concern. The craft of the technique, therefore, is to establish what Curt (1994) refers to as a 'best estimate' of the concourse by sampling, as comprehensively and representatively as possible, from across its textual elements. A 'best estimate' is important to any Q-methodological study, since this will affect the clarity and range of accounts that can be identified using this

technique (Stainton Rogers, W., 1991). The aim is to provide, as far as is possible, broad coverage of the full range of 'things that can be said' about the topic in question.

In this study I estimated the concourse of child sexual abuse by sampling from a wide range of available texts. This involved reviewing my research notebook (see Chapter 2 for details) and deriving from it a large number of propositions. Through a process of grouping of items, I arrived at the decision to divide up the study into three Q sets. This was because it seemed to me that the propositions were falling into three rather different categories – explanations of child sexual abuse, standpoints taken on child sexual abuse, and views about what should be done about it.

Curt (1994) has argued that in practical terms this is quite common – propositions fall into different domains – almost, in effect, different concourses. These domains contain propositions that are of a similar kind to each other and, therefore, have a 'self-containedness' (Stainton Rogers, R., 1995) about them. The self-containedness of these domains is often used to inform the production of domain specific Q-sets, each of which tackle a different feature of the topic being investigated. Curt (1994) identifies three different kinds: representations, explanations and understandings, and prescriptions for action.

For instance, in her study of the social construction of madness, Gleeson (1991) included a Q-set that had propositions which all related to representations of 'mad characters'. Stenner (1991) explored understandings of jealousy and Brown (1997) examined explanations of stress. Lee's (1997) study into child protection looked at the different viewpoints that may be expressed about the way police officers and social workers should work together. This production of domain-specific Q-sets makes the process of Q-sorting more manageable both in terms of the practical demands of

completing a Q-sort and the subsequent analysis of emergent factors (cf. Curt, 1994; Stainton Rogers, R., 1995).

When a researcher opts for this kind of domain specification, two linked Q-sets are often used. For example O'Dell (1998) examined different understandings of the effects of child sexual abuse in conjunction with different views about what should be done to tackle these effects. With a Q-study like this participants who take part are asked to sort both Q-sets. The Q-sets are then subjected to independent statistical analysis. The resultant factors in each Q-set are explicated in their own right. But they are also scrutinised to see if there are any discursive contingences between them.

Q-studies based on multiple Q-sets like this are a relatively recent innovation (see, for example, Stainton Rogers and Stainton Rogers, 1989). The purpose of asking people to sort more than one Q-set is to explore discursive contingency – that is the way, for example, beliefs or explanations for how and why child sexual abuse happens may inform or influence the standpoints that are taken on the issue. An example here is the study carried out by Stainton Rogers and Stainton Rogers (1989) looking at explanations of child abuse in conjunction with views on social policy towards it. Three contingencies were discovered:

Explanation		View on policy
An explanation which focused on physical abuse, which saw it as largely caused by family dysfunction	Linked with →	Policies which seek to work with the family to resolve the dysfunction
An explanation that focused on sexual abuse, which saw it as largely a product of patriarchy.	Linked with →	Policies which remove the abuser from the home – or, when this is not possible, remove the child.
An explanation which focuses on the mistreatment of children by an adultist society	Linked with →	Policies which seek to enfranchise children and promote their rights.

With the Q-study to be reported here, I decided to use three, rather than two, linked Q-sorts. The decision to do this was both data-driven and research-question-driven (cf. Stainton Rogers, R., 1995). It was data-driven in the sense that these were the three domains that were most frequently addressed by the statements recorded.

It was research-question-driven in that these were the discursive domains which were most salient to the stated aims of this thesis. I wanted to explore the ways in which persons-in-culture 'made sense' of, or 'put child sexual abuse into discourse'. Hence explanations were clearly salient. I also wanted to examine the moral and ideological agendas operating within the discursive arena of child sexual abuse. Hence

standpoints were salient, particularly so since these had not previously been subjected to Q-methodological investigation. The domain of this Q-set was the epistemological debates going on and the ideological positions being taken in relation to child sexual abuse. My argument developed in Chapter 3 suggested that these standpoints are often tied to debates over the ways in which child sexual abuse should be defined. Hence this Q-set was designed to address a range of standpoints, debates and definitions in the discursive arena of child sexual abuse. Finally, action was clearly salient too – in any investigation of this kind it is important to be able to explore the implications for policy and practice. In fact, in contrast to Stainton Rogers and Stainton Rogers 1989, only limited contingency was found in my studies. I have therefore concentrated on explicating each of them separately. Where contingency was found, this is examined in the relevant chapter.

The development of items used in the three Q-Sets

The first stage of developing the items that were used in the three Q-sets involved reviewing my field notebook where I had recorded all of the propositions about child sexual abuse obtained from my fieldwork and from my sampling of the concourse. In all over 900 propositions were extracted on the basis that they were representative of what was salient within my sample of the concourse. Items were also extracted if they drew upon, or were informed by, discourses which have tectonically shaped the discursive arena of child sexual abuse (e.g. child protection, psychoanalytic, feminist-informed discourses; see Chapter 3). These items were provisionally allocated to one of the three proposed Q-sets accordingly:

Explanations for child sexual abuse

The propositions included in this Q-set¹ were designed to allow participants to articulate their beliefs about how and why child sexual abuse happens and the processes that may be involved. A number of these propositions were intended to explore participants' beliefs about where responsibility for child sexual abuse should be located (e.g. within the individual, society etc.) The following item provides an illustration of this:

The more we bring up children to please adults, the more we make them vulnerable to adult demands for sex.

The following proposition examines the role of family dynamics in child sexual abuse:

Incest can occur even in really well adjusted families.

Other propositions that were included in this Q-set examined the perpetrator's motivations behind abuse, of which the following is an example:

Sex with a child often has no more complicated a reason than it was the most convenient way for somebody to fulfil sexual needs.

Standpoint and definitions

This Q-set was designed to explore the epistemological, political and ontological positions (cf. Harsock, 1983) that are taken in debates over child sexual abuse and the way it should be defined. The following item was included so that participants could consider the extent to which child sexual abuse is best thought of within the epistemological framework of the medical model:

*Ultimately, the recognition of child sexual abuse is a task for **medical** diagnosis.*

Another example of the items included in this pack examined, whether or to what extent, child sexual abuse should be politicised:

We should keep politics out of the battle against child sexual abuse.

The following proposition was included in order that feminist-informed standpoints and epistemologies on child sexual abuse could be explored:

Where men monopolise the power in a household, there is no hope of reducing the incidence of child sexual abuse.

Views about social policy

The propositions in this Q-set addressed social policy injunctions, interventions, conduct and general responses to child sexual abuse. The following statement typifies the kind of proposition that was included here:

Our policies about child sexual abuse need to strike the right balance between protecting children and preserving family privacy.

The following item was included because it drew upon the tensions between treatment and punishment-based policy for child sexual abusers:

We need to put more resources into the treatment and counselling of child sexual abusers

¹ Some further examples of statements and the discursivity that informed their development for each of the three Q-sets can be found in Appendix VI.

Other items in this pack addressed the more general issue of where, or at whom, social interventions and responses to child sexual abuse should be directed, for example:

We should encourage all children to trust their instincts as to whether an adult is 'safe' or not.

I argued earlier that my rationale for the inclusion of items in the overall Q-study, and within the individual Q-sets, was based on my theoretically driven research questions and by my data driven sampling of the concourse. This, however, is not to suggest this rationale extends to an *a priori* view of the ways in which these items will be interpreted by the participants in their sorting configurations. Q-methodology, when used as a critical polytextualist research tool, questions singular received truths (cf. Curt, 1994; Stainton Rogers, R., 1995). Therefore the modernist expectation that for each item there will be a singular reading, (e.g. a right or wrong reading, Feminist or New Right reading) gives way to more minimalist assumptions about the way in which the items will be read and how they will be configured in the various accounts. In addition to not specifying the type of reading that can, or should be, given to a particular item, critical polytextualist Q-methodological research does not define in advance the type of account which will emerge. Therefore the propositions within any given Q-set are open to manifold readings, some of which are expected and others that are unanticipated or even surprising. The readings that are given to these items, and the accounts that are expressed through the overall sorting configurations, are not a taken-for-granted in-built feature of the method but, instead, are a product of the meaning making activity of the participants completing a Q-sort.

Any propositions that could not be allocated to one of the three Q-sets at this stage were removed. This brought the total number of statements down from 900 to

approximately 600. The number of statements remaining at this stage was still too large, as the analytical and practical demands of the Q-sorting technique limits the number of statements that should be included in any Q-set (cf. Chapter 2). I therefore had to reduce the number of statements in a way that was offset by the need to retain a sufficiently large number of statements so that the major features of the three domains under investigation were adequately represented.

The principle of the best estimate of a concurrence enables a diverse representation of propositions whilst, at the same time, attending to the practical constraints imposed by the number of items to include in the Q-sort. In practice this meant grouping propositions that carried similar meanings and either selecting one that was the most representative of the view being expressed, or *précising* the statements in a way that captured the central tenants of argument. Propositions that were the direct opposites of each other were also removed at this stage. (see Curt, 1994 for a discussion of this).

The development of Item 55 in the Social Policy Q-set provides an example of this process. The item was derived from the concerns expressed by a number of people whom I had interviewed over the issue of child sexual abusers who are, or wished to become, parents. Below is an example of the types of comments that were made:

In my view anybody who sexually abuses a child abdicates their right to become a parent (Senior nurse practitioner).

I'm really not sure about that one. I mean as much as I hate the idea of children being sexually abused, it worries me to think that people think they have the right to stop someone else from becoming a parent. ... I mean, where would we draw the line? (Social worker).

These people should never be allowed to go within ten mile o'kids. ... You can't trust 'em, you just can't. ... Oh they'll say that they'd never do that to their own kids, or that they've changed, it's all rubbish that. ... You just can't believe 'em. ... They're evil. (Member of a self-help group for women who were sexually abused as children).

Child abuse and parental rights was an issue that was also addressed in the academic literature. Consider, for example, the view expressed by David Archard on this point:

Those who are brought to the attention of society as obviously bad prospective parents may be prevented from rearing their own or anybody else's children (1990:191).

Item 55 in the Social Policy Q-set was thus developed by identifying the common element of these various statements. In its final form the statement read as:

In a free society, even the worst kind of child sexual abuser has the right to become a parent.

This process of reducing, refining and re-wording was repeated with all of the propositions, which brought the overall number of statements down from approximately 600 to 300.

Pilot testing

Ten people, (7 women and 3 men), who were diverse with respect to their age, gender, ethnicity and occupation, agreed to pilot-test and assist in the further refinement of the propositions. They were approached on the basis of the diversity of views they could bring to the development of the Q sets at this stage. Three of the women and one of the men were involved in other stages of the fieldwork, of whom two (one woman and one man) worked in the area of child protection. Another of the (female) pilot testers worked as a researcher in the area of child sexual abuse. The remaining six pilot testers were friends and colleagues who, as was the case with all the pilot testers, were approached on the basis of the diverse views they might bring

to the subject of adult/child sex and child sexual abuse and their ability to help me to clarify the ideas being expressed within the individual items. This process was informed by two concerns. My first concern related to the clarity of individual propositions. The propositions in a Q-study are more effective, both in terms of the sorting and subsequent interpretation, when each contains one main idea; when one statements does not significantly overlap with any other in a given Q-pack; and when the statements are written in a way so as to enable a wide range of possible interpretations (cf. Stainton Rogers, W., 1996). My second concern was with comprehensibility and the overall balance of statements within each of the three Q-sets. In light of these two concerns, the pilot-testers were sent the three provisional Q-sets, along with a set of instructions that asked them to check that each proposition:

- contained one main idea
- was clear and written in accessible language;
- could, in their view, be open to a number of possible readings;
- did not unduly overlap with another statement in the Q-set;
- was relevant to the Q-set of which it formed a part.

Additionally, pilot-testers were asked to identify any gaps in each of the three Q-sets, to suggest new propositions that they felt should be included and any revisions they felt needed to be made to existing statements. The final stage of pilot testing and refining the Q sets involved 'balancing' (see Stainton Rogers, W., 1991; Curt, 1994; Stainton Rogers, W., 1996). Balancing is a way of trying to ensure that the statements in the Q-set are not overly weighted in favour of one pole on the sorting continuum. The pilot-testers were asked to divide the statements into three categories

according to whether they agreed, were ambivalent/neutral/undecided, or disagreed with the proposition expressed therein. Where a number of the pilot-testers reported that the statements fell disproportionately into one of these piles, instead of being distributed across all three, this meant that the Q-set in question needed to be modified.

Item 55 from the Social Policy Q-set can again be used as an illustration. If it was found that there were too many propositions with which the pilot-testers could disagree, hence leading to an unbalanced Q-set, the item might have been removed or re-expressed as:

Even in a free society, all child sexual abusers must be made to forgo their rights to become parents.

The feedback from the pilot-testers led to a further process of item refinement, reduction and balancing, which left a total of approximately sixty-nine statements for each of the three Q-sets². The statements were then formatted, randomly ordered, and assigned a number for the purpose of sorting. The materials for the study were then compiled in their final form.

Method

Materials

In their final form, the Q-sets were colour coded: green for the Explanations Q-set; yellow for Standpoints and Definitions; and pink for Social Policy Q-set. This colour

² I decided to use sixty nine statements in each of the Q-sets so as to standardise the procedure and materials for each of the linked Q-sets.

coding made it easier for participants to distinguish between the Q-sets. Each of these sets contained the following materials³:

- a numbered, colour coded, set of Q-sort items;
- instructions for completing the Q-sorts;
- a response grid on which to record their completed Q-sort and any biographical information they wished to provide;
- an open-ended response booklet containing a copy of the numbered items with a space for the participant to comment;
- a self-addressed envelope for the return of the completed materials.

The Participant Sample

With a Q-methodological study the act of sampling is conducted on the propositions or items to be included in the Q-set (Kitzinger, 1987, Stainton Rogers, R., 1995). By comparison the participant sample are sampled *strategically* (cf. Chapter 2); that is the participants are sampled for the diversity of views they may express rather than according to whether 'their criteria can be extrapolated to estimate population statistics' (Stenner and Stainton Rogers, R., 1998). Thus my sample was drawn from professional groups, academics, those who have experienced abuse and those who have abused, members of the 'general public', members of campaigning and self-help groups and by those who advocate, or condone, adult/child sexual contacts. As Q-methodology is a technique for exploring manifold construals of a topic and is used to question singular received truths (see Kitzinger, 1987; Stainton Rogers, W., 1991;

³ See appendix VII and XII for the full set of materials used in this study.

O'Dell, 1998 for examples), no *epistemological* distinction is made between so-called 'lay' and 'expert' knowledges.

In practice this involved inviting a number of those participants in the earlier fieldwork phases of the research to complete the Q-sorts. A number of child protection and health care professionals were therefore invited to take part. I also wanted to include the views of those who had experienced child sexual abuse, so a number of survivors from the self help-group I observed were asked to complete Q-sorts. As feminism is one of the key analytics informing the debates on child sexual abuse, I contacted a number of feminists who work in child protection, were academics and/or were active in the women's movement, many of whom had again participated in the fieldwork stages of my research. I was also interested to include the views of child sexual abusers in the study. This meant distributing Q-sets amongst the members of the psycho-educational programme I had observed. As I surmised that the views of unconvicted advocates of paedophilia would be likely to differ significantly from those of convicted perpetrators, I gave a number of Q-sets to 'Andrew' (the self-declared unconvicted paedophile I interviewed as part of my fieldwork) to complete and distribute amongst others who shared his views on adult/child sex. Members of the 'general public' were also strategically targeted through places like shopping malls and leisure centres. The Q-sets were also distributed at academic conferences; via colleagues and to friends. I also, speculatively, posted a number of Q-sets to people with whom I had no direct contact but whose views I felt would be valuable to the research (e.g. a number of children's charities, including Childline, and community and campaigning groups etc.). A number of people were also recruited through 'snowballing' (Kitzinger, 1989), where participants recommended others to take part in the study. This technique greatly extended the range and diversity of those

completing the Q-sorts far beyond that which I might have otherwise hoped to have achieved.

In all I distributed over 200 Q-sort of which 73⁴ were returned properly and fully completed. The backgrounds of these participants varied with respect to ethnicity, age (17-67 years), gender (46 females and 27 males) and occupation (e.g. child protection workers, feminist activists, bank workers, students, nurses, engineers, those who were currently unemployed, survivors of sexual abuse and lecturers). Full participant details are listed in Appendix VIII.

Procedure

The participants were asked to sort the statements contained in each Q-set by giving them a rating along a continuum of +5 to -5, which took the form of a quasi-normal distribution grid (see Appendix VII). In order to complete the grid, participants were asked to identify the three propositions in the particular Q-set that they were working with at the time, that they most strongly disagreed with. These three statements would then be given a rank of -5 and the item number of the proposition would be recorded on the grid provided (See Appendix VII). The participants were then asked to identify the next five statements with which they most strongly disagreed, allocating -4 rating to these items. The same procedure was applied to the other end of the sorting continuum; that is, participants were asked to identify the three statements with they most strongly agreed, then the next five and so on until the grid was completed (see Chapter 2 for details).

Once the grids were completed, participants were then asked to comment on each item in the open-ended response booklet provided. This booklet was used in a variety

of ways. Some participants gave their interpretations of the proposition; clarified why they decided to give an item a particular ranking; or alternatively, they would use the booklet to expand upon the account they were attempting to express within their overall sorting configuration. Whilst some participants chose to comment quite fully on the items, others opted for one word response like 'yes' or 'disagree'. Others chose not to comment at all⁵. Where these were people who provided a Q-sort that was exemplificatory for a factor, an interview was arranged wherever possible.

As the Q-sets were linked, it was a requirement of my research that each participant completed all three Q-sorts. Due to the time consuming nature of the task the participants were told that it was not a requirement of the study that they completed all three sorting tasks a single session (that is the interval between sorting the individual Q-sets could be spread over a number of hours, days or even weeks). Participants were also not required to complete the Q-sorts in any particular order, although they were advised to tackle the Social Policy Q-set last of all.

Analysis

The response data from each Q-sort were subjected to a person-by-person factor analysis (SPSS, Nie et al, 1975) using principle components method. The factors were rotated to simple structure using the varimax criterion (as specified by Brown, 1980). This analysis yielded a number of statistically independent factors for each Q-sort. That is the Q-sorts of each participant were correlated with the Q-sorts of every other. The purpose of this correlation was to look for covariance between the completed sorts. This produces a number of factors (usually between 3 and 15 per Q-set) that represent orthogonal patterns and what each Q-sort contributed to the factor

⁴ This figure includes myself, as it is common practice with Q-methodological inquiries for the researcher to complete a Q-sort to show their location in the debates.

(i.e. their factor loadings)⁶. These factors represent alternative patterns of sorting response, or views about child sexual abuse. Exemplifying Q-sorts were identified for each factor by discerning the sorting patterns provided by participants that gained a high loading on the factor and a correspondingly low loading on any other factor. A low loading in this case was set at 0.3. As all loadings above 0.3 are statistically significant (Brown, 1980), it was therefore used as the criterion for the lower limit for rejecting an exemplar. Even though a factor loading of +/-0.45 is significant at the $p>0.01$ level (Brown, 1980) in this study 0.67 was used as the criterion for a high loading, as loadings of 0.6 and higher have been found to provide the basis for factors that are clear cut and therefore easy to interpret (see Kitzinger, 1989; Stainton Rogers, W., 1991; Gleeson, 1991; Stenner, 1992; O'Dell, 1998).

The factors were explicated on the basis that there was more than one exemplifying Q-sort (cf. Brown, 1980); that is more than one participant had provided a sorting pattern which had obtained a loading of >0.67 on that factor and <0.3 on any other factor.

In order to best represent the view that was being expressed by the factor, the Q-sorts of exemplifying participants were merged to form an 'idealized' composite grid, that represents the best estimate of the factor (Brown, 1980). In order to produce this composite grid, the exemplifying Q-sorts were subjected the weighting and averaging statistical procedure specified by Brown (1980: 240-1; see also Stainton Rogers, R., 1995:188-189). This procedure is illustrated in Figure 1 (below).

⁵ See Appendix XII for examples

⁶ Appendix IX shows the factor loadings for each participant across the three linked Q-sets.

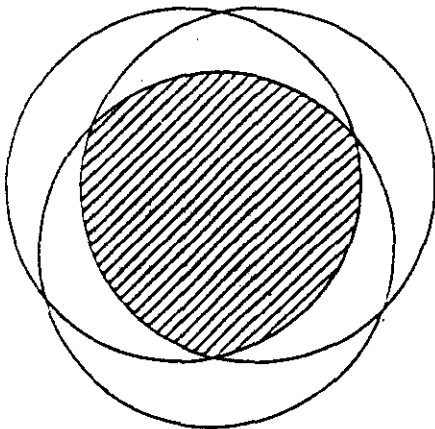
Figure 1: The weighting procedure used to estimate a factor from its exemplifying Q-sorts

Exemplifying Q sorts	Factor loading (f)	Weight (w) $w = f(1-f^2)$	$\frac{1}{w_L}$	$\frac{1}{w}$	Rounded ($\times 10$)
1	.77	1.59	.53	1.00	10
2	.60	0.94		0.47	5
3	.68	1.26		0.67	7

(Source: Stainton Rogers, R., 1995: 189)

The composite grid that is produced by this procedure takes account of the magnitude of the Q-sort's loading on the factor; that is Q-sorts with higher factor loadings are given a greater weight. It also statistically reflects the commonalities between the exemplificatory Q-sorts. So in the above example of 3 exemplificatory Q-sorts, the weighting and averaging procedure aims at the best estimate of what is common across the three Q-sort which is represented by the shaded area in Figure 2 (below):

Figure 2: The logic of making factor estimates from exemplifying Q-sorts



In those cases where a large number of participants obtained a loading of >0.67 on the factor only those with the **highest** loadings were used to form the statistically derived composite grid in this study. Where this was the case, the comments provided by participants with a loading of >0.67 , along with other participants who obtained a (high) loading of >0.60 , were used to assist with the interpretation of the account and to illustrate the points raised. The tables that accompany each explicated account (see Chapters 4, 5 and 6) specifies the participants who provided exemplifying Q sorts that were used to form the statistically derived composite grids and the high loaders on the factors whose comments were used to inform and illustrate the explication of the account.

Explicating the factors

The interpretation, or explication, of the emergent factors for this Q-study was based upon:

- the composite grids (see Appendix XI);
- the rank ordering of statements – or factor scores – from the composite grids (see Appendix X);
- written responses to the items provided by participants who exemplified the factor (see appendix, VIII for examples);
- Biographical information provided on the response grid was used to 'contextualise' the account being expressed (see Appendix VIII);
- a follow-up review of the factor (where necessary and possible), or notes taken at the time of sorting;

- material gathered during the field work phases of this thesis that had a bearing on the view expressed in the factor;
- cultural analysis (cf. Chapter 2).

Additionally, as I noted earlier, the comments provided by participants who loaded highly on the factor (>0.60), but whose Q-sorts were not used in the statistical computation of the composite grid, were used in the explication of factors.

CHAPTER 4

EXPLANATIONS FOR CHILD SEXUAL ABUSE

Introduction

In this Chapter, I will report on the five factors – the five explanatory accounts of child sexual abuse – that were identified from the data analysis of the responses to the *Explanations for Child Sexual Abuse* (Explanations) Q-set. These five accounts were selected for explication because they met the criteria outlined in the Introduction to Section 2. I argued in Chapter 3 that different understandings of child sexual abuse constitute struggles over meaning and what is considered relevant to the debate. Not only do the various accounts operationalised by this Q-set each construe child sexual abuse in different ways, they differ in what is seen to be at issue and at stake. They each also tap into wider discourses – different narratives that enable different kinds of account.

These five explanatory accounts are listed in the table below:

Factors Explicated in the Explanations for Child Sexual Abuse Q-set

Factor	Title
1	A Mainstream Professional Account of Child Sexual Abuse
2	Boy-Love
4	A Liberal Account of Child Sexual abuse
5	Sexual Abuse as Paraphilia
11	A Feminist Informed Understanding of Child Sexual Abuse

This Chapter begins with an explication of each factor and then concludes with a discussion of two of the key themes to emerge from my analysis.

Explanations for Child Sexual Abuse: Factor 1

A Mainstream Professional Account of Child Sexual Abuse

Participants Providing Exemplifying Q-sorts

Participant	Loading	Details
46	0.77	A 36 year old White-British male, Training and Development Officer in Social Services
54	0.67	A 46 year old white, Scottish-British male, NSPCC Child protection Social Worker

High Loaders on the Factor

Participant	Loading	Details
35	0.64	A 42 year old British female, Child Protection Social Worker
64	0.62	A British, 44 year old; Social Services Dept. worker who chairs child protection case conferences

Factor Summary

This factor was defined by the sorting patterns of social work professionals the majority of whom have experience of working in the area of child protection. In the discursive position being outlined here child sexual abuse is viewed as a common yet serious problem. The explanatory account being offered situates the abuse as arising primarily out of the interaction between social and psychological factors. The abuser is viewed as an adult male who was abused in childhood. The effect of this abuse is argued to instil a sense of powerlessness that contradicts the traditional patriarchal

assumptions that men should be powerful and in control. Another response to this abuse in childhood is the development of a sexual attraction to children. Thus sexual abuse is seen as a response to the need to feel powerful as well as wanting to be sexually gratified by the child.

Factor Explication

In this account, child sexual abuse is construed against a backdrop of being a premeditated, long-term and somewhat 'addictive' activity:

7. Generally, child sexual abuse is better understood as a 'spur of the moment' offence than as a premeditated one (-4).
Absolutely, totally, completely NOT! (Participant 35)
In my experience it is always planned (Participant 54)
No – grooming (Participant 64)
4. Some people get hooked onto child sexual abuse in the same way that others get hooked onto drugs or gambling (+5).
I do believe it is 'addictive' (Participant 35)
Child sexual abuse is an addiction (Participant 54)
...some men are just hooked on it... (Participant 35)
23. Parent-child incest most often involves an on-going sexual relationship (+5).

The concept of 'on-going relationship' (Item 23), when read against the comments provided in response to Item 7, suggests that the child is 'groomed' (cf. Herman with Hirschman, 1981, de Young, 1982, Wyre, 1987) or 'socialised' (cf. Christiansen and Blake, 1990) to participate in sexual activities with an adult.

It does not, in this context, refer to the conduct of equal partners:

20. Some father-daughter incest arises because they fall in love (-5).

No – there is no equality in a father/daughter relationship which must be necessary to fall in love (Participant 35)

Parents are responsible for what happens and shouldn't get into this (Participant 64)

The child's 'participation' in sexual activities is not seen as premised on their consent, since the operations of adult/parent power mitigate against the very concept of 'choice':

1. All other things being equal, the older the child the more we should accept the idea that they may have *chosen* to get involved in a relationship with as adult (+1).

...I believe it remains hard for young adults to make informed choices where there is a significant age/power gap (Participant 35).

Perpetrators of CSA plan their action in such a way to reduce to nil real choice in their chosen victim. (Participant 54)

The long-term nature of child sexual abuse is therefore construed not in terms of a consenting 'relationship' between adult and child, but one that is based on the power of the adult to have their needs met. So, rather than consenting to the activity, sexual abuse becomes more of a dysfunctional 'a way of life' (Item 22: *Sexual abuse is a way of life in some families*/+5. Item 21: *Incest can occur even in really well adjusted families*/-3) for the child.

Whilst connections to other forms of abuse are acknowledged, child sexual abuse is seen as being *qualitatively* different:

10. The motivations for the sexual abuse of children are very different from the reasons why people physically abuse and neglect them (+3).

Yes I agree. Though some of the more premeditated and sadistic abuse is reminiscent of sexual abuse (Participant 35).

Neglect is often a feature of CSA and some CSA is very physically abusive, however generally sexual abuse is different (Participant 54).

Physical and sexual abuse are perceived to be different, not least because physical abuse has been viewed within the context of parenting and punishment, whereas sexual abuse has more to do with the gratification of the adult (see, for example, Finkelhor, 1984). This point was also made by a male Social Worker who took part in an individual interview (see Appendix III for details):

To me sexual abuse is about an adult getting sexual gratification from a child to the detriment of the child which makes it sexual abuse, it's an adult getting gratification rather than physical abuse or emotional abuse which is more about punishment and giving the child discipline often. The adult does not get gratified in the same way.

This gratification is seen as one of the factors contributing to the aetiology of abuse. The high positive rating given to Item 26 and the open-ended comments which accompany it together indicate that 'gratification' and male gender socialisation are two of the central explanatory constructs in this account:

26. I accept the notion that child sexual abuse can be an unconscious expression of anger (+4).

[T]here also has to be sexual interest in children (Participant 35).

Generally by "weaker" men... [who] society says...should be dominant (Participant 54).

One of the ways in which the 'male need to be dominant' referred to by Participant 54 is reproduced is within the context of schooling:

9. The ways our schools have handled the sex education of the present generation of parents is a factor in the sexual abuse we see today (+1).

I agree in the broadest sense. Gender-role education is certainly significant, encouraging aggression etc. in boys, powerlessness and compliance in girls (Participant 35).

In addition to having a sexual interest in children and the socially constructed need to be dominant, another important factor in the aetiology of abuse is being sexually abused in childhood:

59. To my mind, sexual abuse has the habit of running in families (+4)

Yes - the emotional effects of abuse can lead to the feeling of powerlessness that leads to abuse. (Participant 35).

What is being argued here is that, for men, the experience of being sexually abused in childhood brings about the concomitant 'reactions' of a sexual attraction to children and a feeling of powerlessness. The combination of these effects can ultimately culminate in the sexual abuse of a child, which, in addition to being sexually gratifying in and of itself, also serves the function of a symbolic mastery (cf. Stroller, 1975) over their own abuse:

30. There is no reason why a child victim of sexual abuse should go on to become a child sexual abuser themselves (-3).

[T]he damage to self esteem caused by abuse can lead to the sense of worthlessness in adults that leads to abuse of power on weaker person (Participant 35).

... many of the abusers I work with tell me they were child sexual abuse victims (Participant 54).

It appears they do, without a great deal of help (Participant 64).

This propensity to sexually abuse is construed in terms of a 'learned process' rather than a 'disease' that is transmitted from one person, or generation, to the next:

44. An interest in sex with children is like a disease, it is very easy to catch from close contact with an abuser (-4).

I doubt it, but it can be learned (Participant 64)

The actual abuse itself is seen as being 'triggered' by a number of factors. These triggers are not seen as causing child sexual abuse but as providing the enabling conditions for the abuse to occur. The use of alcohol as either an inhibitor or as an excuse can be seen in this context:

18. With child sexual abuse, as for so many other social problems, alcohol abuse has a lot to answer for (-1).

[I]t is not the cause of child sexual abuse, but a powerful disinhibitor. (Participant 35).

Alcohol is used by men as an excuse - it is not the reason. (Participant 54)

The view that is being expressed here is informed by the work of Araj and Finkelhor who, in relation to the role that alcohol plays in the commission of offences, state that:

Alcohol may act as a direct physiological disinhibitor or it may have some social meaning that allows a person to disregard the taboos against social molestation (*ibid*, 1986:116).

Personal problems are seen as another 'triggering mechanism' that activates, rather than lies at the root, of sexually abusive behaviour:

38. It is helpful to look at child sexual abuse as a symptom of an underlying personal problem or crisis in the abuser (+4).

It's not a 'symptom' - but the problem/crisis can trigger a cycle of abuse in one who has the sexual interest (Participant 35).

Whilst sexual abuse is not seen as a symptom of emotional problems, it is however, viewed as the product of distorted thinking:

49. It is helpful to see child sexual abuse as resulting from distorted thinking/living in a world of 'unreality' (+4).

Certainly there is a high level of distorted thinking in the men I have worked with (Participant 35).

Whilst the idea that the denial of a sexuality to older people is minimally endorsed, Participant 35 uses the concept of a denial of sexuality to make a broader point, again in relation to triggers to child sexual abuse:

24. Society's denial of sexuality to older people, drives some senior citizens to child sexual abuse (+1).

I don't believe the denial of sexuality / a sex life turns anyone to CSA. There has to be the interest in children. But the denial of sexuality can be a stress that triggers an established cycle of abuse (Participant 35)

The way that children are brought up and the fact they are often sexualised may also provide the enabling conditions or triggers for sexual abuse:

14. A society that encourages little girls to buy make-up, uses them to sell jeans, and offers them role models like 'Madonna' stimulates the sexual abuse of girls (+3).

I think serious attention should be given to advertising where young children are often portrayed as 'sexual'. This enables sex abusers to rationalise and minimise their offending (Participant 35)

I don't think it stimulates CSA but reinforces the view that girls "are 'sex objects' for men (Participant 54).

25. The more we bring up children to please adults, the more we make them vulnerable to adult demands for sex (+4).

Yes - lack of power (Participant 64)

The idea of 'triggers' or enabling conditions that is being proposed here may be considered in relation to the two four-factor models devised by David Finkelhor (1984), which attempt to explain why adults may be sexually attracted to children as well as the preconditions for abuse. In both these models Finkelhor argues that the offender needs to overcome the normal inhibitions against having sex with a child. This, he argues, is achieved variously through the use of alcohol, drugs and the deployment of cognitive distortions and rationalisations in order to excuse or justify the behaviour. What for Finkelhor is seen as overcoming inhibitions is construed here as a trigger that provides the enabling conditions for abuse.

According to this account, child sexual abuse occurs as a response to a set of inter-related events that start with being sexually abused in childhood. In light of this, explanations which simplify this process by suggesting that sexual abuse has a no more complicated explanation than as a means of fulfilling sexual needs (Item 46: *Sex with a child often has no more complicated an explanation than it was the most convenient way for somebody to fulfil sexual needs* /-2) or as an 'accidental' extension of normal caring relationships (Item 65: *Sadly, the normal affectionate touching between a parent and a child can occasionally slip into fondling that is sexually abusive* /-3) are rejected. The rejection of Item 65 does not imply that 'normal parents don't experience sexual feelings when caring intimately for their children', however. In her open-ended response to this item, Participant 35 regards the physical pleasure a 'normal' adult may derive from caring for a child as distinct from sexual gratification which, by its nature, is abusive:

3. Normal parents don't experience sexual feelings when caring intimately for their children (-2).

I don't know - I understand that breastfeeding can lead to orgasm, though I did not experience it myself. Caring for my child gave immense physical pleasure - I could not keep my hands off him - but it was not sexual. I would not consider the feelings [as] 'abnormal' necessarily - as long as the child is not used for the adult's gratification (Participant 35).

Thus caring for a child and sometimes deriving 'immense physical pleasure' during the course of 'normal' parenting is seen to have a different aetiology to sexually abusing a child, as Participant 35 notes in relation to Item 50:

50. If 'caring' turns to 'lusting' we have child sexual abuse (+2).

I don't think caring does turn to lusting - they start in different places.'

They start in different places because 'lusting' or wishing to be sexually gratified by a child is seen to have a direct link to being sexually abused.

Factor Review

- Child sexual abuse is viewed as premeditated, long term, 'addictive' activity.
- For psychological reasons as well as reasons to do with male gender socialisation, men who were sexually abused in childhood are more likely to sexually abuse.
- The abuse is triggered, enabled or justified through factors such as the use of alcohol, 'personal problems' and the denial of sexuality.
- Children are viewed as the powerless, objectified victims of abuse.

Explanations for Child Sexual Abuse: Factor 2

'Boy – Love'¹

Participants Providing Exemplifying Q-Sorts

Participant	Loading	Details
68	0.75	Retired British male
69	0.82	An 'over 18' year old Welsh, male Banker
70	0.78	49 year old, male, lecturer

High Loader on the Factor

Participant	Loading	Details
51	0.62	A 66 year old British male author (boy-love)

Factor Summary

All of the Participants whose sorting patterns define this factor described themselves as proponents of 'boy-love' which, according to them, is a variant of Greek Love that dates back to boy-tutor relationships of Ancient Greece. J. Z. Eglinton, who has written extensively on this subject, describes Greek Love as the valid manifestation of:

¹ 'Andrew', the self-defined paedophile whose views about child sexual abuse are subject to a detailed examination in Chapter 7, recruited the other participants who defined this factor. As was the case with Andrew, none of these participants were convicted of any sexual offence involving children; additionally they were informed that if I had any suspicions about the safety of a child, I would immediately report these suspicions to the police and relevant authorities.

... love between an adult man (or, sometimes, an older adolescent) and a younger boy (*ibid*, 1971:3).

Eglinton argues that man-boy relationships have an honourable lineage that is strongly associated with the *love* and nurture of children rather than abusive forms of conduct towards them. Those whose sorting patterns define this account attempt to construct a positive identification with adult/child sex through resisting what in their view is a blurring together of boy-love, or paedophilia more generally, with child sexual abuse. Thus the emphasis is placed upon arguing that there is nothing inherently wrong with adult/child sex per se and through the construction of boy-love as a 'legitimate' – that is non abusive – sexuality. This is approached through arguing in favour of children's sexual determination and through the normalisation of adults' sexual attraction to them.

Participants 51, 68 and 69 each commented (via Participant 51) that the majority of the statements included in this Q-set reproduced, in their terms, this problematic conflation of sexual abuse with the legitimate sexual orientation of 'boy-love'². These Participants felt that in order to adequately express their views on the subject, many of the items that contained the term 'child sexual abuse' were read as if it were 'adult/child sexual conduct'.

The view being expressed here is perhaps best read in conjunction with the following extract from an (undated) Dutch paedophile newsletter³ that was enclosed with the response grid of Participant 68:

Paedophile relationships are often subject to the pressures of anxiety, condemnation and rejection. We consider these unnecessary hindrances which often obscure what really goes on in such a relationship. ... [W]hen we think of children we conceive of them as "innocent", and thus victims, as "asexual" and thus seduced, incapable of "sexual initiative" and thus tricked. When we talk about

² This view is considered in more detail in Chapter 7 of this thesis.

³ See Appendix XIII for the newsletter in full.

paedophilia we are also talking about sex. But we must realise that in many friendships in which paedophilia is involved there are other aspects such as warmth, responsibility, pleasure, caring for one another. Anyone who thinks deeply about paedophilia cannot ultimately avoid considering the position of children in society and the family; part of the problematic of paedophilia is connected to the child's position as a minor.

As very few written comments were provided by those who statistically defined this factor and none were willing to take part in a follow-up interview to clarify the view-point being expressed, the explication of this factor relies heavily upon the notes I took at the time Participant 51 completed his Q-sort.

Factor Explication

The view being expressed here seeks to challenge the ways in which adult/child sex is currently constituted as 'a problem'. This is approached in a number of ways including, for example, a rejection of the notion that child sexual abuse is rooted in evil, anger or other iniquitous processes:

- 31. We need to recognise that the forces of evil may lie behind some of the more perverted forms of child sexual abuse (-5).
- 26. I accept the notion that child sexual abuse can be an unconscious expression of anger (-2).

The view of some psychiatrists and absolute rubbish (Participant 68)
- 61. To my mind, there is no link between exposure to pornography in childhood and a later tendency to become a child sexual abuser. (+4)
- 18. With child sexual abuse, as for so many social problems, alcohol abuse has a lot to answer for (-2).

What is being argued here is that a sexual interest in children is not a form of pathology. In light of this, the 'disease analogy' referred to in Item 44 is regarded as erroneous. Rather than being rooted in pathologies of various kinds, a sexual interest

in children is viewed as a legitimate sexual orientation. Item 44 is also rejected on the basis that it stigmatises those who have a sexual interest in children:

44. An interest in sex with children is like a disease, it is very easy to catch from close contact with an abuser. (-5)

Another way in which adult/child sex is constructed as a 'legitimate sexual orientation' in this account is through distancing it from other forms of abuse:

13. I suspect that the sexual abuse of animals and the sexual abuse of young children have similar explanations (-4)
52. Child sexual abuse and 'wife beating' have similar explanations (-4).
10. The motivations for the sexual abuse of children are very different from the reasons why people physically abuse or neglect them. (+4)
- They are opposite extremes (Participant 68).

They are 'opposite extremes', to use the words of Participant 68, because a sexual interest is argued to arise out of a purported 'love' for the child which is expressed in benevolent, as opposed to abusive, sexual contacts:

5. The closer the emotional attachment a person has with a child, the easier it is for that person to become an abuser (+3).
- There must be a link between love and sex (Participant 68).

This so-called 'love' and attendant sexual contact is also argued to be reciprocated by the child:

20. Some father-daughter incest arises because they fall in love. (+2)

Thus, what is commonly referred to as 'child sexual abuse' is represented here as a loving, on-going relationship between an adult and child:

23. Parent-child incest most often involves an on-going sexual relationship. (+3)

Unlike the account given in Factor 1, the children in these so-called 'relationships' are not seen as vulnerable to the power of adults:

25. The more we bring up children to please adults, the more we make them vulnerable to adult demands for sex (-3).

Nor are they regarded as objects for the sexual gratification of adults:

33. For some people children are sexually alluring because they are 'forbidden fruit' (-2)
29. Some people are 'turned on' by rubberwear, some by silk lingerie and some by children. The reasons for all three are much the same (-2).

In this account children are constructed in a way that upholds this particular explanation of adult/child sex. That is they are construed as being sexually agentic both in terms of their sexual conduct with each other as well as being able to consent to sexual conduct with adults:

67. Sexual abuse by other children is one of the great unrecognised child sexual abuse problems of our time. (-4)

Nonsense. It used rightly to be called experimentation (Participant 68).

1. All other things being equal, the older the child the more we should accept the idea that they may have chosen to get involved in a relationship with an adult. (+5)

The notion of the 'sexual' child that is offered here is pivotal in this account, since it nullifies the claims that a sexual interest in children arises out of pathology. The deployment of the notion of the 'consenting child' also adds weight to the argument that boy-love, or paedophilia more generally, is best understood as a sexual

orientation and is therefore, by this logic, a different order of event than sexual abuse. Both of these arguments elide questions of adult power, psychological and physical coercion. Whilst these questions are not explicit in this account O'Carroll, in his defence of paedophilia, tackles these points through the dubious, rhetorical strategy of reducing the significance of adult power by comparing it to motherhood:

The fact that there are oppressive elements in motherhood does not of course tell us that motherhood should be done away with. The fact that a mother's relationship with her child is not an *equal* one does not mean that it is inherently untenable or undesirable; the child, the lesser party in terms of power in this relationship, stands to gain from the inequality...The disparity in size and power between parent and child creates a *potential* for abuse...But, on the basis that parent-child relationships are generally *positive*...we accept that inequality is simply the nature of the thing. In itself, it is not an aspect on which we would focus our attention in determining whether a particular mother-child relationship was good or bad. [emphasis in the original] (*ibid*, 1980: 167).

When seen from the perspective of a sexual orientation, explanations for child sexual abuse which regard it as an accidental occurrence, a 'spur of the moment offence' or even as an addiction are rejected because they invalidate the love, attraction and reciprocity that are claimed to underpin this form of conduct:

- 65. Sadly, the normal affectionate touching between a parent and a child can occasionally slip into fondling that is sexually abusive (-2)
- 7. Generally, child sexual abuse is best understood as a 'spur of the moment' offence rather than as a premeditated one (-3)
- 4. Some people get hooked onto child sexual abuse in the same way that others get hooked onto drugs or gambling (-2)

Accounts of child sexual abuse which suggest that it is 'socially transmitted' are also rejected for this reason:

- 59. To my mind child sexual abuse has the habit of running in families (-3)
- 30. There is no reason why a child victim of sexual abuse should go on to become an abuser themselves (+5)

At the same time as contesting the construction of adult/child sex as pathological, those who define this account attempt to normalise such conduct through a particular invocation of the 'natural' and the 'social'. For instance, Item 13 (*I suspect that the sexual abuse of animals and the sexual abuse of young children have very similar explanations/ -4*) was rejected on the basis that people who have a sexual interest in children should not be likened to those who abuse animals. Item 36, on the other hand, is made sense of in terms of a naturalisation of intergenerational sexual conduct:

36. Immature animals are frequently used sexually by older, more experienced animals, we should not be surprised to find the same going on with human animals. (+2)

The view expressed here is that were it not for social mores constraining this activity, adult/child sex would be a far more common occurrence:

19. Few adults, isolated on a desert island with a child, would be able to resist, for long, the temptation to try for a sexual relationship (+4).

Explanations for adult/child sex are not seen to differ across different cultures as the sexual orientation that is argued to underpin it is seen as fixed (Item 59: *The explanations for child sexual abuse in one culture will not necessarily work in another culture /-3*)⁴. Therefore, the fact that this conduct takes place at all should not be seen as an indication that the society in which it occurs is itself is 'sexually sick' (Item 47: *It is naive to regard child sexual abuse as a symptom of a sexually sick society /+3*), or

⁴ This is an example of an item where those who defined this account read 'child sexual abuse' as adult/child sex.

that there is something problematic about the adult, child or even the family in which this activity occurs (Item 21: *Incest can occur even in really well adjusted families* /+3).

Although this account is defined by, and promotes the interests of, self-professed 'boy-lovers', women's sexual interest in children is not overlooked. Women are seen to be sexually attracted to children and for the similar reasons to men. This attraction, however, tends to go largely unrecognised:

- 43. The reasons why men sexually abuse children and why women do so are fundamentally the same. (+2)
- 45. Paedophilia in women is one of the great unrecognised child abuse problems in our time (+2)

The lack of recognition of paedophilia in women is attributed to the social convention of gender-roles, which provides women with unacknowledged access to children:

- 68. In terms of child sexual abuse, it is naive to assume that women are safe with children (+4).
- 56. The very position of trust that women have traditionally held over the care of children has also allowed them to sexually abuse unrecognised. (+3)

This view is reflected by Plummer who states that:

[A] major problem arises...because of the culturally specific expectations of men and women by which men are more routinely viewed as "sexual" while women are more routinely viewed as being less so, and simultaneously more "emotional" and "maternal". These expectations positively encourage women - through their nurturant, maternal role - to have close bodily contact with children; a woman who caresses a child is not viewed with suspicion, for she is simply being "maternal". The same conduct from a man would usually invite suspicion...' (*ibid*, 1981b: 228)

Whilst women are implicated in sexual conduct with children in this account, the following items are rejected because they suggest that women are joining with men in the sexual abuse of children rather than having a specific sexual interest in them:

57. The more we have a society based around couples doing things together, the more likely it is that one of those things will be the sexual abuse of children (-5)
58. As women progressively take over traditionally male roles and activities, they are also more likely to take over male vices like child sexual abuse (-4)

Finally, from the logic of this account, much of what currently passes for child sexual abuse is seen as an overreaction to a stigmatised sexual minority and their consenting/willing partners. Children are thus, according to this perspective, not damaged by these contacts but by societal overreaction that inevitably follows:

69. The less fuss we make about an act of child sexual abuse, the better as far as the recovery of the child concerned. (+5)

Factor Review

- Boy-Love is viewed as a legitimate sexual orientation and as such should be distinguished from child sexual abuse.
- Adult/child sex is not pathological, but can be an expression of a loving relationship.
- Children are sexually agentic and both can consent to and enjoy sexual contact with adults.
- Women can have a sexual interest in children although this is not generally acknowledged or recognised.

Explanations for Child Sexual Abuse: Factor 4

A Liberal Account of Child Sexual Abuse

Participants Providing Exemplifying Q-Sorts

Participant	Loading	Details
06	0.77	No information supplied.
31	0.71	A 38 year old, Female, White-British training officer and social worker
45	0.76	A 22 year old, Male, African-Caribbean, service engineer

High Loader on the Factor

Participant	Loading	Details
16	0.63	25 year old, White, female, research assistant

Factor Summary

The account offered here explains child sexual abuse in terms of the ontological primacy of the individual. Therefore questions concerning the causation of child sexual abuse are seen to be located at an individual, rather than socio-cultural or structural levels. This atomistic focus on the individual renders generalisations about the aetiology of abuse on the basis of gender, ethnicity or background problematic, since it is individuals – as opposed to social processes or structural arrangements –

that should be held accountable for the sexual abuse of children. Such generalisations are also viewed as problematic because they have the potential to stigmatise individuals and groups. An important implication of the view being expressed here is that women and children are just as likely to commit child sexual abuse as adult men. So too are people of all ages and from a variety of backgrounds. It is this notion of the autonomous, self-contained, intentional actor predicated on notions of 'fairness to all groups', which locates this account in discourses of liberalism.

Factor Explication

As is the case with liberal philosophies in general, this account sites the causation of child sexual abuse 'within' the individual. Whilst this is explained here in terms of an adult choosing to sexually abuse, the fact that some sexual abuse arises from an underlying psychiatric illness or results in addictive behaviour should not be ruled out:

11. Sexually abusing children is a sign of a psychiatric illness requiring medical or psychological treatment (+4).
4. Some people get hooked on to child sexual abuse in the same way that others get hooked onto drugs or gambling (+3)

Such pathologies, however, are distinguished from a 'lesser' personal problem or 'crisis' that the abuser may have (Item 38: *It is helpful to look at child sexual abuse as a symptom of an underlying personal problem or crisis in the abuser* /-1). Even when it is the case that child sexual abuse is viewed as being symptomatic of a serious underlying pathology, this is neither seen to excuse the behaviour, nor abdicate the abuser's moral responsibility for the abuse:

Sounds like an excuse to me! I don't think there is any case for abusers not knowing what they are doing. (Participant 16).

The view that the aetiology of child sexual abuse can be located exterior to the individual, for example in a 'sexually sick society' (Item 47 *It is naive to regard child sexual abuse as a symptom of a sexually sick society* /+2), is rejected on the basis that it diverts attention, and thus responsibility for the abuse, away from the abuser. What is being argued here is that child sexual abuse should be viewed solely in terms of the conduct of individuals who must take responsibility for their actions, however these actions arise. When viewed in this way, those accounts of child sexual abuse which suggest that the behaviour emanates from the type of relationship the adult has with the child are held to have little explanatory value:

- 17. Fathers who have intimately cared for their children - bathed them, fed them and changed them - are less likely to sexually abuse than fathers who have had a more distant relationship (-3).
- 48. There is something about the step-fathering role which seems to release sexually abusive tendencies (-2).
- 8. The reasons why step-parents sexually abuse children are no different from the reasons why biological parents do so (+5).

I don't think this makes any difference (Participant 45).

By extension, child sexual abuse is not considered to be an aberration of normal parenting, the wider pattern of family dynamics, nor is it an outcome of the situations that people find themselves in:

- 65. Sadly, the normal affectionate touching between a parent and a child can occasionally slip into fondling that is sexually abusive. (-3)
- 5. The closer the emotional attachment a person has with a child, the easier it is for that person to become an abuser. (-3)
- 53. Modern family life exposes men to temptations to sexually abuse which their fathers and grandfathers never faced (-4).

When the focus is placed on individuals in this way, it makes little sense to berate or judge the family as a whole, as any family could have individual members who engage in this form of conduct:

21. Incest can occur even in really well adjusted families. (+4)

Happens in all kinds of families no matter how 'perfect' they may appear (Participant 16).

As what is being argued here is that child sexual abuse should not be attributed to factors outside the individual, any attempt to focus on the relational aspects of child sexual abuse are considered misguided. Whilst there is recognition that some parents do have sexual feelings for their children (Item 3: *Normal parents don't experience sexual feelings when caring intimately for their children* /+4), the process of parenting itself should not be held to account if the adult decides to act on these feelings. Thus, the assumption that there is a causal link between the relationship that the adult has with the child and child sexual abuse is challenged because it obscures, through shifting and dispersing, the culpability of the adult in the commission of abuse.

Children who have been sexually abused are not subjected to scrutiny in this account other than the extent to which they are the objects of adults' sexual attentions:

25. The more we bring up children to please adults, the more vulnerable we make them to adult demands for sex (+2)
33. For some people children are sexually alluring because they are 'forbidden fruit' (+2).
1. All other things being equal, the older the child the more we should accept the idea that they have *chosen* to get involved in a relationship with an adult (-4)

In keeping with the liberal philosophy that informs this account, caution is expressed over those explanations for child sexual abuse that over-generalise or which implicate

others on the basis of prejudices of various kinds. Thus, only certain adults – not all – when given the opportunity would engage in sexual conduct with a child:

19. Few adults, isolated on a desert island with a child, would be able to resist, for long, the temptation to try for a sexual relationship. (-5)

It's not a temptation for that many adults (Participant 16).

It is also not the case that 'whole cultures' should be held responsible for child sexual abuse, but individuals largely acting on their own volition, as evidenced by this wry comment:

28. Child sexual abuse is a habit that Britons have caught from contact with the practices of other cultures and societies (-4).

Those dirty foreigners! (Participant 16)

Another aspect of the liberal philosophy informing this account is brought out in relation to the gender of the abuser. As what is being offered here is an essentially 'privatised' account that advocates fairness to all groups, one implication of this is that the gaze of concern over child sexual abusers must fall upon women in the same way that it does for men:

43. The reasons why men sexually abuse children and why women do so are fundamentally the same. (+5)

There is also an acknowledgement that sexual abuse conducted by women may go undetected:

56. The very position of trust that women have traditionally held over the care of children has also allowed them to sexually abuse unrecognised. (+3)

45. Paedophilia in women is one of the great unrecognised child abuse problems of our time. (+4)
68. In terms of child sexual abuse, it is naive to automatically assume that women are safe with children. (+5)

In addition to being more likely to evade detection as sexual abusers, it is also acknowledged that women who know about and 'collude' with child sexual abuse may escape the punishment that her partner is likely to suffer (Item 2: *The woman who knows about and colludes with child sexual abuse often escapes the punishment that her partner is likely to suffer* /+2). But this does not mean that it should be automatically assumed that the sexual abuse of children involves their collusion (Item 35: *Sexual abuse seldom happens in families without the collusion of other family members* /-2). What is refuted is the notion that women should take responsibility for the abusive conduct of others:

27. Working mothers, by their absence, create the opportunity for child sexual abuse. (-4)

I hate the way women are blamed for such things in a way that makes them feel guilty for being alive (Participant 16).

42. We will never fully understand why a man is sexually abusing a child in the family, unless we look to the behaviour of the woman. (-5).

Blaming women for men's behaviour again (Participant 16).

Finally, in the same way that this account argues for a recognition that women may be implicated in child sexual abuse, the same is said to hold true for children:

67. Sexual abuse by other children is one of the great unrecognised child sexual abuse problems of our time (+2)

Factor Review

- The causation of child sexual abuse is located in the individual.
- For whatever reason it occurs, adults must take responsibility for their sexually abusive conduct.
- We should avoid explanations for child sexual abuse that blame, and thereby stigmatise, whole groups of people (e.g. on the basis of gender, culture).

Explanations for Child Sexual Abuse: Factor 5

Child Sexual Abuse as Paraphilia

Participants Providing Exemplifying Q-Sorts

Participant	Loading	Details
36	0.84	19 year Black female student
60	0.86	19 year old Black male student

High Loader on the Factor

Participant	Loading	Details
52	0.65	A 50 year old White female medical practitioner with 15 years experience of working in child Protection

Factor Summary

In this account the explanatory constructs of power and gender are elided in an explanation for child sexual abuse that is based on sexual gratification. The fact that this need is expressed by sexually abusing a child is explained in two ways. In the first, sexual abuse is described in terms of a paraphilia, where children are fetishised. This fetishisation occurs on the basis that sexual conduct with children is taboo. In the second explanation, child sexual abuse is seen to arise out of a lack of alternative or more orthodox ways of meeting sexual needs. In this explanation children are abused sexually, not because of any special qualities they have as children, but because they provide a convenient means for adults – so disposed – to satisfy their

sexual needs. Thus with both of these explanations, the child has no special meaning other than being a 'stimulus' object for the sexually abusing adult.

As Participant 52 was the only Participant to provide written comments, a follow up-review of the factor was conducted by telephone with Participants 36 and 60 (who are twins).

Factor Explication

The principal explanatory construct underpinning this account is the notion that child sexual abuse arises in response to an adult's need to be sexually gratified. This can occur when an adult cannot get their sexual needs met in more 'conventional ways':

40. Adults have the need to express themselves in sexual relationships; sexual abuse may occur if an individual is unable to meet such needs in more conventional ways (+2)

I am a strong believer of this although I accept that in a few cases the need to exercise power may be the primary cause of sexual abuse (Participant 52).

Whilst it is the need for sex and not the exercise of power that explicitly underpins this explanation of child sexual abuse, implicitly what is being argued is that by virtue of being adults, abusers have the power to gain sexual access to children's bodies. A point that is implied by Participant 52 in her response to Item 13:

13. I suspect that the sexual abuse of animals and the sexual abuse of young children have very similar explanations (-1).

If the perpetrator needs sexual satisfaction which s/he cannot find in more orthodox ways, animals and children present an easy option (Participant 52)

This need to be sexually gratified and its expression in the sexual abuse of children does not draw on the gendered discourses of the male sexual drive (e.g. Hollway, 1984), however, as women are also implicated:

43. The reasons why men sexually abuse children and why women do so are fundamentally the same. (+5)

Yes: the need for sexual gratification. This is a very crass approach of mine but we know even less why women abuse children than we know about men (Participant 52).

It is also seen to be the case that similar patterns of 'abusive' behaviour can be observed in animal communities:

36. Immature animals are frequently used sexually by older, more experienced animals, we should not be surprised to find the same going on with human animals (+3)

Thus, what is being argued here is that in certain instances child sexual abuse can be perceived as having no more complicated a reason than being a 'convenient' way of an adult to assuage their sexual needs:

46. Sex with a child often has no more complicated an explanation than it was the most convenient way for somebody to fulfil sexual needs (+3)

Convenience is, certainly, one aspect of the problem. It needs the intention as well to express itself in the form of sexual abuse of a child (Participant 52).

While 'convenience' is certainly one aspect of the explanation, what also needs to be explained are the reasons why an adult would turn to a child in order to meet their sexual needs. One reason that is offered in this account is that children are fetishised and the taboo nature of sexual conduct between adults and children is eroticised:

33. For some people, children are sexually alluring because they are 'forbidden fruit' (+5).

This could certainly be true - especially as a number of people need quite a number of extra stimuli to achieve erection and maintain it! (Participant 52)

29. Some people are 'turned on' by rubberwear, some by silk lingerie and some by children. The reasons for all three are much the same. (+4)

Whilst the tendency to fetishise children is seen as somewhat exacerbated by the sexualised ways in which they are represented in society (Item 14: *A society that encourages little girls to buy make-up, uses them to sell jeans, and offers them role models like 'Madonna' stimulates the sexual abuse of girls* /+4), this account also views child sexual abuse as symptomatic of an underlying pathology or personal problem in the abuser:

11. Sexually abusing a child is a sign of psychiatric illness requiring medical or psychological treatment (+5)
38. It is helpful to look at child sexual abuse as a symptom of an underlying personal problem or crisis in the abuser (+2)

Child sexual abuse thus arises when the need to satisfy a sexual craving and the intention to satisfy that craving with a child – because a child is seen as a convenient way of getting these needs met – come together. Expressing the need in this way is seen as symptomatic of an underlying pathology – one where children become fetishised objects for sexual stimulation. The pathology is to do with there being little or no caring expressed for the child itself – the child is objectified as a means to satisfy the sexual craving of the adult. The explanation that child sexual abuse arises out of attachment to a child is therefore rejected:

5. The closer the emotional attachment a person has with a child, the easier it is for that person to become an abuser. (-4)

This implies that affection for children is by definition connected with sexual feelings. I disagree although I accept that some people cannot form any attachment with children unless there is a sexual element in it (Participant 52).

Thus a clear separation is made in this account between caring for or about a child and sexually abusing a child. What is being implied here is that child sexual abuse is essentially an *abnormal* activity:

20. Some father daughter incest arises because they fall in love (-2)

50. If 'caring' turns to 'lusting' we have child sexual abuse. (+2)

Caring should not turn to lusting - and if the implication is that it does this is yet another attempt to normalise sexual abuse (Participant 52).

As child sexual abuse is viewed as being underpinned by the need for sexual gratification there is no reason to assume, from the logic of this account, that the reasons for sex between an adult and an adolescent should be any different to sex between an adult and a small child (Item 32: *The reasons for sex between an adult and an adolescent are very different from the reasons for sex between an adult and a small child* /+3). Some of the issues raised in this factor were elaborated in a follow-up telephone interview conducted with Participants 36 and 60:

Participant 36: there are a lot of wives who don't satisfy their husbands and the husbands instead of wanting to go to another woman 'cos that might cause problems would actually go to children.

Interviewer: *Why couldn't they just stop having sex?*

Participant 36: Because the urge in some people is very strong and they just can't do that.

Participant 60: ...women have sex drives too...but we don't make the same kinds of assumptions about them do we?

Whilst child sexual abuse is not viewed as a practice which people in Britain have learned from other cultures and groups (Item 28: *Child sexual abuse is a habit that Britons have caught from contact with the practices of other culture and societies* /-5), certain types of family arrangements are, however, seen as useful in terms of reducing the opportunities to abuse:

51. Those cultures which have extended families e.g. where grandparents, aunts etc. are very much part of the family, provide a high level of protection for children from sexual abuse (+2)

An extended family helps against abuse by sheer elimination of the opportunity, it does not, however, automatically exclude abuse (Participant 52).

Blaming society more generally is also seen as problematic:

47. It is naive to regard child sexual abuse as a symptom of a sexually sick society. (+2)

If societies are described as 'sexually sick' because of a number of perpetrators within them then all societies throughout human history have been sexually sick (Participant 52).

The reason why extended families don't automatically exclude abuse is because the reasons are not situated within the family but in the individual. Thus different family set-ups may have some impact on the opportunity to use children as a source of sexual gratification but little on the individual's desire to abuse. Item 47 can also be seen in this context, as it is pointless to blame society for what is essentially an individual pathology. In light of this the responses to Items 59 and 30 can be read in terms of sexual abuse being a 'self-contained' psychopathology. Thus the idea that it can be transmitted from person to person is rejected:

59. To my mind, sexual abuse has the habit of running in families (-5)

30. There is no reason why a child victim of sexual abuse should go on to become an abuser themselves (+3)

An important aspect of the explanation being offered here is that alcohol is seen as increasing the tendency to use children as a means of gratifying the sex drive:

8. With child sexual abuse, as for so many other social problems, alcohol abuse has a lot to answer for (+4)

It certainly reduces inhibitions (Participant 52)

In a similar vein, the use of pornography is seen as an additional stimulus and not a solution to the adult need to be sexually gratified:

12. Having access to pornographic magazines and videos makes people less likely to sexually abuse children (-5).

I should think exactly the opposite is true. Usually people watch pornographic material to get arousal or sexual satisfaction but not 'instead of'. Few regular users of such material would admit that this is their only way to sexually perform (Participant 52).

In agreement with the liberal account (Factor 4) child sexual abuse, according to this account, cannot be explained in terms of the everyday roles and relationships between adults and children. The need for sexual gratification is seen to underpin all adult behaviour no matter what their relationship is with the child:

8. The reasons why step-parents sexually abuse children are no different from the reasons why biological parents do so (+2).

Those defining this account agreed with the proposition that if a father gets more involved in the intimate care of their children they are less likely to dehumanise that child and use them as a means of getting their own sexual needs met:

17. Fathers who have intimately cared for their children - bathed them, fed them and changed them - are less likely to sexually abuse than fathers who have had a more distant relationship (+2).

Unlike the feminist informed factor which theorises a link between sexual abuse and other forms of violence conducted by men, this account de-politicises child sexual abuse through its deployment of sexual gratification:

52. Child sexual abuse and 'wife beating' have similar explanations (+1).

No - unless wife beating has an element of sexual gratification, something that could well be true (Participant 52).

Factor Review

- Child sexual abuse arises through an adult's need for sexual gratification.
- Children become the objects through which those who are so disposed gain sexual gratification either because they are 'convenient' (i.e. there when no other outlet is available) and/or because the child is fetishised (i.e. sexually arousing) because they are 'forbidden fruit'.
- Abusers treat children as sexual objects – they are less likely to abuse them if they care for and about them.
- Sexual abuse is pathological, because it is uncaring about the impact on the child.

Explanations for Child Sexual Abuse: Factor 5

A Feminist-Informed Account

Participants Providing Exemplifying Q-Sorts

Participant	Loading	Details
22	0.78	British; 27 year old, lesbian-feminist researcher with experience of working in refuges for abuse survivors.
30	0.72	A White-British researcher (in the area of CSA), 39 years, radical-feminist.
32	0.69	A female, British Lecturer.
50	0.75	A White-British feminist and researcher, 39 yrs.

High Loaders on the Factor

Participant	Loading	Details
01	0.62	British-Jewish woman, 41 years old, training development adviser, feminist, trained social worker
05	0.62	A British, 26 year old female clinical psychologist trainee and worker in CSA voluntary organisation.

Factory Summary

Defined mainly by feminists and those who have had experience of working directly with child sexual abuse, this account offers a gendered analysis of child sexual abuse.

Those who define it argue that the socio-cultural context of patriarchy creates the

conditions for the construction of male sexuality as predatory which, when coupled with a conscious decision to abuse, results in the sexual abuse of children. Men and the socially endorsed ways of 'being a man' form the emphasis in this account. Thus, the account being offered here refutes any kind of individualistic explanation – that child sexual abuse arises through the aberrant behaviour of a few pathological men. It is viewed as a consequence of male socialisation under patriarchy, and the power that patriarchy affords all men. However, despite this anti-individualism, it does hold abusers, as individuals, responsible for their actions. The explanation offered here also seeks to separate issues relating to the conditions under which child sexual abuse is more likely to occur from the reasons why it happens. This arises from concern that the conflation of these two all too often leads to a mother-blaming rhetoric that obscures and diverts the responsibility for the abuse. This is not only an explanation for child sexual abuse; it is a vehicle for challenging male domination and power.

Thus fundamental to this account is a critique of a patriarchal social order that locates people differentially, particularly by gender. Women are seen as located in subordinated positions, both in the private and public spheres. In this societal context, violence (including sexual violence) is viewed as a means of control over women and children (Hearn, 1998: 32; see also Chapter 3). As some of the participants who defined this account have made some contribution to the feminist-knowledge base of child sexual abuse, the explication of this factor relies both upon written comments provided at the time of the study and, where appropriate, their more formal writings.

Explication of the Factor

In this account those explanations for child sexual abuse which can be construed as eliding the conscious wilfulness of this activity are strongly rejected, on the basis that they provide excuses and not explanations for the behaviour. In the words of

Participant 01 they provide 'a hook for abusers to hang the blame on without accepting personal responsibility and choice in the matter':

11. Sexually abusing children is a sign of a psychiatric illness requiring medical or psychological treatment. (-4)

I wouldn't describe it as such. [This is a] dangerous definition to remove abuser's personal choice and responsibility (Participant 01).

This is an 'individualistic' model of explanation. If it were true then we would have a very large number of 'sick' men around (Participant 50).

38. It is helpful to look at child sexual abuse as a symptom of an underlying personal problem or crisis in the abuser. (-3)

The abuser may have problems or crisis but it is not helpful to look at CSA as a symptom of it (Participant 01).

Danger of using this as an excuse for individual abusers (Participant 30).

This is an individualistic explanation (Participant 50).

The role of alcohol in the commission of sexual abuse is also seen in this context (Item 18: *With child sexual abuse, as for so many other social problems, alcohol abuse has a lot to answer for* /0). Whilst it may loosen inhibitions, alcohol is not seen as a causative factor of the abuse itself:

18. With child sexual abuse, as for so many other social problems, alcohol abuse has a lot to answer for (0).

Alcohol may loosen inhibitions, but it is inappropriate to blame behaviour on any drug (Participant 01).

Men who don't abuse alcohol do abuse children, and men who do abuse alcohol abuse children when they have and have not been drinking (Participant 30).

From this point of view, child sexual abuse is not like an addiction (Item 4: *Some people get hooked onto child sexual abuse in the same way that others get hooked*

onto drugs or gambling /-2) over which the abuser has little or no control for, as Participant 30 notes, 'abusing a child is not the same as a bodily dependency on a drug'. In addition to occluding the intentionality of the abuser, explanations for child sexual abuse that are rooted in individual pathology fail, from this perspective, to elucidate the gendered nature of this phenomenon. This view is tacit in Participant 30's response to Item 44:

44. An interest in sex with children is like a disease, it is very easy to catch from close contact with an abuser. (-4)

Abusive behaviour is not a form of flu. If it was there would be no disparity in terms of who abuses (Participant 30).

The twinned analytics of personal responsibility and gender are made explicit in relation to the following:

19. Few adults, isolated on a desert island with a child, would be able to resist, for long, the temptation to try for a sexual relationship. (-3)

This is the adult as wild, uncontrollable animal image - denied sex they would rape a whale - or hole in coconut tree?!?!? I think not - not even men! (Participant 01)

Gender would have to be part of the dynamic here - less likely for women than men (Participant 30).

I would be able to resist - so would most women (Participant 50).

40. Adults have the need to express themselves in sexual relationships; sexual abuse may occur if an individual is unable to meet such needs in more conventional ways. (-4)

I disagree with 'need' here and again it abdicates the adult abuser from responsibility (Participant 50).

Which adults, what "need"? Many women seldom experience sexual satisfaction yet do not, on the whole, harm children. Male sexuality is constructed around a sense of need and entitlement - this needs to be challenged not endorsed (Participant 30).

A similar view was expressed by a female participant in a group discussion with NSPCC workers in Leeds⁵:

I think for me and I do look at it from a feminist aspect (sic) and I think that most men in society expect sex.

In the argument that is developed here child sexual abuse is theorised as a product of patriarchally endorsed constructs of masculinity, rather than resulting from the actions of a few 'sick men'.

47. It is naive to regard child sexual abuse as a symptom of a sexually sick society

What does 'sexually sick' mean - masculinity is constructed as predatory but this is to many men and some women considered 'normal' rather than sick (Participant 30).

So far as the behaviour of men is concerned, child sexual abuse is seen as consistent with patriarchal constructions of their sexuality, a point that is made by MacLeod and Saraga:

Generally boys and men learn to experience their sexuality as an overwhelming uncontrollable force; they learn to focus their sexual feelings on submissive objects, and they learn the assertion of their sexual desires, the expectation of having them serviced (*ibid*, 1988: 41)

The situation is held here to be different for women, as female sexuality is not predicated upon power, hence:

41. Much the same explanations hold true for paedophilia in women as for paedophilia in men (+1)

⁵ See Appendix III for details.

Not sure how extensive paedophilia in women is – [they] do have power as adults but for women to use sexuality as a source of power – they are acting outside, rather than within, gender expectations/constructions (Participant 30).

Women and men have different relationships to power (Participant 50).

As women's sexuality is not viewed as constructed through and on the basis of power, it is regarded as less likely to be used in ways that are abusive. So, rather being unrecognised, claims about female abusers are dismissed as being largely unfounded, or deployed as part of a wider strategy to 'de-gender' child sexual abuse:

45. Paedophilia in women is one of the great unrecognised child abuse problems of our time (-2).

I doubt it- another diversion. The media can't bear men's behaviour to be shown up (Participant 01)

So unrecognised that hardly any cases can be found – despite many people trying fairly hard (Participant 30)

Right now, the evidence does not back this up. Yes some women do abuse and we need to recognise that, but I don't (yet) think it is 'great' in terms of the amount of abuse of children (Participant 50)

In contrast to the point made in the 'Boy-Love' explanation for child sexual abuse (Factor 2), where it was argued that assumptions about gender-roles – in particular motherhood – provide a mechanism of concealment for female abusers here the view is that, rather than concealing the 'fact' of women abusers such explanations obscure the highly gendered nature of this activity:

56. The very position of trust that women have traditionally held over the care of children has also allowed them to sexually abused unrecognised (-1)

A diversionary idea. The amount of abuse by women is generally seen as tiny (Participant 01)

Where are the survivors telling us about this form of abuse? [Th]is is a smoke-screen to avoid gender-issues (Participant 30)

Men have sexually abused unrecognised for years. This statement makes no sense (Participant 50).

Kelly makes a similar point when she argues that the implication of women in the sexual abuse of children is merely a strategy that is used to downplay the gendered aspects of this activity:

The most popular strategy is to suggest that women have many opportunities to sexualise interactions with children, particularly babies; that mundane, everyday child care offers the perfect cover for sexual abuse but there are so few reported cases because it is 'normalised'. Abuse thus defined covers touching a baby's genitals whilst changing their nappy and allowing children to sleep in the same bed. The hidden agenda ...is to deny that most physical and sexual violence is conducted by men (*ibid*, 1991:14-15).

That said, some of the participants whose Q-sorts exemplified this account do suggest that it is naïve to automatically assume that all women are safe with children (Item 68/+2). This, however, is seen in the overall context that the threat of sexual abuse posed by men far outweighs that which is posed by women:

68. In terms of child sexual abuse, it is naïve to automatically assume that women are safe with children (+2).

Any automatic assumption is naïve but by and large women are safer (Participant 01).

Women less likely to abuse than men, are therefore most safe group of adults. Women may also be abused by boys. "Safe" is not just an issue for children (Participant 30).

Yes, true - however as a mother I am still more confident in leaving my children with a woman than with a man - if nothing else, the statistics tell me she will be safer (Participant 50).

In common with the account offered in Factor 4, women's indirect involvement in child sexual abuse is also challenged as this, it is claimed, again serves to divert attention away from the intentional actions of the male abuser:

42. We will never fully understand why a man is sexually abusing a child in the family, unless we look to the behaviour of the woman (-3).

No. Rubbish [the] woman's behaviour is irrelevant - we should look to the ABUSER not divert blame/responsibility (Participant 01)

Her behaviour is not at issue here, his is! (Participant 30)

'Mother-blaming' - the adult who abuses is responsible for the abuse - no-one else. (Participant 50)

27. Working mothers, by their absence, create the opportunity for child sexual abuse (-5)

This may be one opportunity but is not the reason for women not to work outside of the home. Abusers have responsibility for their own behaviour (Participant 01).

Implies that without supervision men are not to be trusted. Whilst this may have some truth in it, issue is men's actions, not women's. Women's absence provides additional opportunities but their presence does not prevent abuse (Participant 30).

Rather than being implicated in the sexual abuse of children women, especially in the domestic sphere, are seen as socially and politically analogous to children, in the sense that both occupy subordinate positions and are victims of patriarchal power as a result:

52. Child sexual abuse and 'wife beating' have similar explanations (+5).

Agree - some men are engaged in both at the same time. The connections between these two forms of violence need to be further investigated (Participant 30).

The family, as a privatised sphere for the operations of patriarchy, is seen as linking domestic violence with child sexual abuse. As such it is viewed as a vector of abuse for women and children. This is the case even in 'really well adjusted' family settings:

21. Incest can occur even in really well adjusted families (+4)

Yes - CSA is not an aberrant feature of Western society but a part of 'normal' 'well-adjusted' life within the dominant culture (Participant 22).

One effect of this is to limit the choice of alternatives a woman has on discovering her child has been abused:

16. Women who do not report the sexual abuse of their children, are often so dependent on the man that they are prepared to pay any price to keep him from leaving. (+3)

Again research does not bear out this view. Women rarely know of/collude with abuse, though they still are largely dependent on men to maintain their standard of living (Participant 01).

For some women leaving is almost impossible - its also a question of what you mean by 'dependent' - is a woman who is terrorised by her partner 'dependent'? (Participant 50)

It was also argued that this might also create a situation where the choices a woman does make to protect her child are seen as colluding with the abuser and/or are non protective of the child, as Participant 30 notes:

Not reporting is not the same as not believing/acting. Many women act to protect their children without making an official report.

Children, because they are brought up to please adults (Item 25: *The more we bring up children to please adults, the more we make them vulnerable to adult demands for sex* /+4), are seen as particularly vulnerable to dominant forms of male sexuality constructed around power, entitlement and need (cf. Rush, 1980). Children are further made vulnerable by the sexualised ways in which they are represented in society (Item 14/+5):

14. A society that encourages little girls to buy make-up, uses them to sell jeans, and offers them role models like 'Madonna' stimulates the sexual abuse of girls (+5).

I think the view of "little girls" purveyed by society does encourage them to be sex objects at an early age (Participant 01).

Not sure about "stimulates" but is part of a culture that sexualises children and girls in particular (Participant 30).

12. Having access to pornographic magazines and videos makes people less likely to sexually abuse children. (-4)

Porn and videos are the visual record of child or woman abuse. They reduce children/women to sex objects and may make abuse more likely as they lower barriers (Participant 01).

The fact that children are socialised to be powerless and men powerful militates against the very idea of a child being able to give meaningful or informed consent. All sexual encounters between adult (men) and children are therefore considered to be abusive:

1. All other things being equal, the older the child, the more we should accept the idea that they may have chosen to get involved in a relationship with an adult (+2).

All things are not equal between adults and children, making 'choice' a problematic concept. One could equally say the older the child the more likely the adult would use force (Participant 30).

The point here is 'all other things being equal'. If that were true then I would agree but unfortunately its not the case (Participant 50).

23. Parent-child incest most often involves an on-going sexual relationship. (+4)

Often involves on-going sexual abuse which is different from a "relationship" (Participant 30).

I do believe that 'incest' often involves on-going sexual abuse but I have a real problem with using the term 'sexual relationship' as this implies 'consent' on the part of the child (Participant 50).

Factor Review

- Child sexual abuse is a product of patriarchy, and arises through the deployment of male power.
- Abusers must be held accountable for their actions, and cannot be allowed to excuse them by recourse to patriarchal strategies – such as its construction of male sexuality as ‘driven’ and uncontrollable.
- Child sexual abuse is just one manifestation of the misuse of patriarchal power, and must be seen in the context of other forms of misuse (such as violence towards women).

Discussion

The factors explicated from this Q-set suggested five alternative explanations of how and why child sexual abuse happens and the processes that are involved. The divergence in these explanatory accounts were not, however, absolute in the sense that they drew upon entirely different or even opposing discourses in order to make certain claims about child sexual abuse. Instead, as I will go on to show, as well as having a number of discursive disjunctions there were also a number of intertextualities. That is, similar discourses were deployed to address similar or different points within the positions that were taken. These discourses addressed individual, familial, structural and cultural levels of analysis. I have identified three areas to demonstrate these points of convergence and divergence:

- Views about normalisation and pathologisation
- Views of the role of the woman in abuse
- Views of the child

Normalisation and Pathologisation

The explanations offered in both the *Boy-Love* (Factor 2) and the *Feminist Informed* (Factor 11) accounts argued that child sexual abuse should be seen and understood through discourses of normalisation. These discourses, however, were used in contrasting ways and were linked to quite different outcomes in each case. With *Boy-Love*, for example, discourses of normalisation were used to counter those explanations positing that the sexual abuse of children arises due to the errant behaviour of pathological individuals. Instead the argument was that adult/child sex is the expression of a mutual love and affection between an adult and child. Thus the

'wrongness' of this behaviour is not seen as inherent to the act itself, but was instead attributed to the socially produced meanings that are given to sexual conduct involving children. In a similar vein, the use of the term 'child sexual abuse' to describe this conduct was also disputed within this framework as this, it was argued, bestowed a problematising gaze upon these so-called legitimate acts of 'love'. It is worth quoting Peter Righton, one proponent of this view, at length on this point, as the views he expressed in *Perspectives on Paedophilia* clearly epitomise the argument that was being made by those who exemplified the *Boy-Love* account:

I see no reason to think that an attraction to children in or approaching early adolescence is either more or less mysterious, (or more restricted), than a *penchant* for redheads. The important difference between them rests not on the assumption that one is 'normal' and the other so perverse as to require special explanation, but on the *social* rule which permits men to have sex with adult redheads if both so please, but forbids them to do so with children. The rule may be perfectly sensible; but it cannot be invoked to prove that sexual *attraction* to children is pathological. ... If a child does develop a warm relationship with a paedophile which includes shared sexual pleasure, the sex is unlikely to do the child much harm, and the friendship may well be more beneficial than otherwise. ... [T]here is no question that children need to be protected from sexual marauders; what I contest is the assumption that children need protection (in the sense of denial of) any kind of sexual experience with an adult, however loving, gentle or even educative [emphasis in original] (Righton, 1981:37-39).

The discourses of normalisation that were deployed within the *Feminist Informed* account on the other hand were diametrically opposed to those expressed in the *Boy-Love* factor. Here it was suggested that sexual violence towards children (and women) is a product of normative and normalising patriarchal social structures. These structures naturalise male power and dominance in a way that gives rise to predatory constructs of male sexuality – that is, they are available to be deployed by *all* men. A similar point was raised in a group interview that was conducted for the fieldwork of this research. There one of the female participants argued that predatory male sexual

behaviour is so much a taken-for-granted feature of life that women routinely adapt their behaviour to take account of it⁶:

I can remember looking after a little boy who was about 4. ... His mother and I had shared child-care since our children were a few months old and he came to stay with us. His mother gave me some cream and said "look he's actually got problems with his scrotum it needs creaming up"... She would never have asked my husband or her husband to do the same thing, it's like we assume that it would be dangerous to ask a man to do that sort of thing.

What is also argued in the *Feminist Informed* account is that the naturalisation of male power and dominance gives rise to a gendered distribution of offending and victimisation. Child sexual abuse and rape are thus theorised as both a masculine and naturalised form of conduct towards children and women. In contrast to the *Boy-Love* account which saw adult/child sex as normal (in the sense that it is not always abusive), the argument in the *Feminist Informed* factor is that adult/child sex is *always* abusive. But the behaviour itself is seen to arise out of normalised patterns of relating that invest men with the power to abuse whilst, at same time, disenfranchising children and women. Here being 'natural' does not in any way imply that it is acceptable or legitimate – merely that it is so common as to be effectively normal.

With both of these accounts explanations based on the individual psychopathology of the abuser are rejected – but for quite different reasons. With *Boy-Love* this rejection is based on the notion that a sexual interest in, and/or conduct with, children cannot be educed from pathology – because while it may be unusual, it is in no way 'sick'. It is merely one among many forms of sexual proclivities. For the *Feminist Informed* account explanations based at the level of individual pathology are rejected because this can be used to let the abuser off the hook. From this perspective, while child sexual abuse is not about the pathology of individuals but a whole system of male privilege, power and sexuality, individual men should not be allowed to excuse their

⁶ See Appendix III for details.

behaviour by viewing themselves as being 'out of control' (due to the effect of hormones, disinhibiting substances such as alcohol, or some kind of mental illness). Such 'excuses' are regarded as strategies made available by and deployed within patriarchy.

With the explanation that was offered in the *Sexual Abuse as Paraphilia* (Factor 5) child sexual abuse was seen as underpinned by the need for sexual gratification. Although this so-called 'need' was normalised in the sense that men as well as women and children are purported to have it, an adult who uses a child to get such needs met was seen as 'abnormal'. The *Mainstream Professional* account (Factor 1) saw child sexual abuse as arising out of aberrant individual and social processes. In common with the *Feminist Informed* understanding (Factor 11) there was a structural analysis of gender and power, although this was explained in terms of pathological individual processes. Sexual abuse was thus seen to arise out of the inadequacies of individual men who, as a result of their own abusive childhood experiences, could not live up to the patriarchal ideal of masculinity. The argument that was expressed in the *Liberal* factor (Factor 4) was somewhat different however. There it was suggested that whilst child sexual abuse might arise out of pathological or aberrant individual functioning, the abuser must always take responsibility for their conduct. It was also argued that child sexual abuse is best explained at the level of the individual and that the abuser should be accorded responsibility for their behaviour. This responsibility should not be shifted onto others such as women when men are the perpetrators, neither is it the case that women should evade taking responsibility for the abuse when they have committed such offences. Individuals are 'free' in the sense that they have the capacity for choice; and one of the unfortunate ways in which these freedoms and choices are expressed is through the sexual abuse of children. Those who defined this account also attempted to strike a balance between the recognition that aberrant pathological processes may be at work in the aetiology of abuse, whilst

not using this to excuse the abuser from their behaviour. At the same time, it was also held that other people, processes or relationships should not be unduly used for labelling people or processes as abusive. The intertextualities and differences between these accounts can be illustrated with reference to the way in which items were used within the context of the accounts.

The following Items provide an illustration of some of these. With Item 4 there was broad agreement across Factors 1, 4 and 5 that sexual abuse could in some sense be seen as being 'addictive':

4. Some people get hooked onto child sexual abuse in the same way that others get hooked onto drugs or gambling.(F1/+5; F2/-2; F4/+3; F5/+3; F11/-2)

The notion was rejected, however, by the *Feminist Informed* and *Boy-Love* accounts. With the *Feminist Informed Factor* (Factor 11) the construction of child sexual abuse as an addiction was argued to abdicate the abuser's personal responsibility for their conduct. Pathologised constructs of child sexual abuse were also rejected by those who loaded highly on the *Boy-Love* factor (Factor 2) as this undermines their argument that paedophilia or, more specifically 'boy-love', should be seen as a legitimate sexual orientation.

Item 5 is another example of where narratives of normalisation/pathologisation were expressed:

5. The closer the emotional attachment a person has with a child, the easier it is for that person to become an abuser (F2/+3; F5/-4).

For *Boy Love* child sexual abuse is seen to arise out of an emotional attachment with the child that had some resonance with Araj and Finkelhor's (1986) concept of emotional congruence. What is being proposed here is that there is a 'meeting in the middle' between the world of adults and that of children. This gives rise to a strong

bond between the two that sometimes culminates in sexual contact. But this notion of a bond or attachment to a child as underlying the process of child sexual abuse is rejected in the *Sexual Abuse as Paraphilia* account (Factor 5). Within this account the child is viewed as being little more than an object or outlet for the abuser's 'abnormal' paraphilic desire.

Similar disjunctions can be seen in relation to the normality/abnormality of desire for the child.

19. Few adults, isolated on a desert island with a child, would be able to resist, for long, the temptation to try for a sexual relationship (F2/+4; F4/-5; F11/-3).

The viewpoint expressed in the *Boy-Love* account (Factor 2) sees child sexual abuse as an over-generalised concept, erroneously applied to situations involving 'non-problematic' sexual encounters between adults and children. What is also argued is that, were it not for the cultural sanctions which operate to prohibit and punish adult/child sexual conduct, many more adults would engage in such activity. Thus when placed in a situation where such constraints are removed, from the perspective of this account, it is not surprising that it is assumed that many adults would engage in this form of conduct with a child. But for both the *Feminist* and *Liberal* Factors (Factors 4 and 11 respectively) a separation is made between the normal conduct of women – who would not try for a sexual relationship in these circumstances – and that of men, who would. This distinction reproduces wider notions of women's non-sexualised and men's sexualised contacts with children.

21. Incest can occur even in really well adjusted families (F1/-3; F2/+2; F4/+4; F5/+3; F11/+4).

The narrative of pathology for the *Mainstream Professionals* factor is here expressed through the assumption that if families were functional and well adjusted then incest or sexual abuse simply would not occur. Although Factors 2,4,5 and 11 each agree to a varying extent with the item, the way it is interpreted varies within the context of each

account. With *Boy-Love* the point is again made that adult/child sex should not be automatically seen within a pathologising gaze. One way that those who exemplify this account seek to address this is by implicating what are usually seen as 'normal' individuals and what are commonly referred to as 'normal families' in adult/child sexual contact.

By contrast the *Liberal* factor sought not to stigmatise or label particular families as deviant. Thus what is being argued through the positioning of this item is that it is misleading to assume that abuse only happens in those families already stigmatised by being labelled 'maladjusted' or 'dysfunctional'. A slightly different point is made in the *Sexual Abuse as Paraphilia* factor. Here it is argued that family pathology can be submerged beneath a veneer of normality or, as Participant 52 (one of the high loaders on this factor) put it: 'certain families give the impression of good functioning and yet they hide numerous problems amongst their members'. With the *Feminist Informed* Factor it is institution of the family within patriarchal contexts that comes under scrutiny, as this is seen to provide the enabling conditions for the abuse of children (and women).

Women and child sexual abuse

Within the different explanatory accounts I was able to identify three main themes relating to women. These were: women colluding with the abuse and doing nothing to protect their children; women who provide the opportunity for the abuse; and women who may actively take part in the abuse.

Women as colluding with abuse

2. The woman who knows about and colludes with child sexual abuse often escapes the punishment that her partner is likely to suffer (F4/+2; F5/+3; F11/-2).

The *Liberal* account (Factor 4) emphasises individual culpability, and hence it is not surprising that the view expressed there sees a woman who is aware of the sexual abuse but does nothing to stop it as doing wrong and deserving punishment. By way of contrast, the *Feminist informed* account (Factor 11) views 'knowing about' and 'colluding with' the abuse as two separate things. A woman may know that her child is being abused but will take active steps to prevent their on-going abuse, sometimes in ways that are invisible to the social welfare agencies. Women should only be held responsible for the abuse if they are actively involved with the abuse or do nothing to stop it. Simply knowing about the abuse does not warrant the charge of collusion. In a group interview I conducted with a self-help group for mothers of sexually abused children, some of the complexities of 'collusion' were brought out. One woman, 'Jackie', argued that collusion on the part of the non-abusing mother is often assumed. In Jackie's case the situation arose because she was in the house at the time of her daughter's abuse. Jackie's daughter, in her own terms, thought that she had told her mother what was happening to her. Thus when the welfare agencies investigated the case they, and her daughter, assumed that Jackie must have known what was happening all along:

Quite often a lot of the time we were in the house. And because I were in the house the child sees it that I knew what was happening, I'd let it happen. It's very hard for a child to understand that we were downstairs in the sitting room and didn't know what was going on. And it [the child] thinks it's told you and you've ignored it. I think what it boils down to is I think kids think that mothers know everything. They've got a crystal ball and they know exactly what's happening to them. She kept telling me she had nightmares about worms. In her mind she told me. I just thought it was a kid's nightmare, she were scared of worms, she sees them in the garden, I never thought of sexual abuse.

The experience described by 'Jackie' is not uncommon, as many offenders do not wait until they are entirely alone before committing the offence and frequently abuse when other family members are in the house (Christiansen and Blake, 1990). Charges of collusion must be seen against this context as well as the powerful ideology of

motherhood which assumes that women will always somehow know when there is something the matter with their child and what it is.

Another aspect that came out about the role of women in abuse related to their dependency upon men in the domestic sphere.

16. Women who do not report the sexual abuse of their children, are often so dependent on the man that they are prepared to pay any price to keep him from leaving (F1/+2; F4/+4; F5/+4; F11/+3).

There are intertextualities here between the *Feminist Informed* and *Mainstream Professional Account*. Whilst not colluding with the abuser, it is suggested that women may be dependent on men economically or may even be being abused by them. This was also true of the *Liberal Humanist* and *Child Sexual Abuse as Paraphilia* factors (Factors 4 and 5). For those associated with the *Feminist Informed Factor* (Factor 11) the woman's dependence is not construed as an individual weakness, or personal failing, but as another manifestation and consequence of male dominance and power under patriarchy. It was highlighted in the participants' open-ended responses to this item that women in these situations may themselves be subject to abuse and terrorised by the abuser. In light of this the cost-benefit analysis offered by Porter can be seen as something of a simplification:

A wife whose husband is in prison may find herself suddenly not only without a partner but also without a wage-earner. She may respond by blaming the child for disclosing the child sexual abuse. She may turn against her daughter, ally herself with the husband in prison, and oust the girl from the family (*ibid*, 1984: 89).

These intertextualities, whilst strategically positioning the woman outside of discourses of culpability, also have the, presumably unintended, effect of constructing her as passive both in the face of oppression and the abuse of her children. This is clearly not always the case. In a group interview with mothers of sexually abused children one participant, 'Irene', forcefully made the point that:

I don't care how much you love a fellow, or how much you need the money your children have got to come first.

Women as enabling abuse

27. Working mothers, by their absence, create the opportunity for child sexual abuse (F1/-4; F2+2; F4/-4; F5/0/F11/-5).

This item was devised to bring to the Q-set a commonly held viewpoint in the academic literature. For example Finkelhor and Baron have claimed that '[a]nother variable that in some forms might be related to parental absence outside the home is the *mother's employment outside the home*' (Finkelhor and Baron, 1986: 73, my emphasis). It was expected that this argument would engender a strong response from those who identified with feminism taking part in this study. A strong response was also elicited across the other factors, with the exception of *Boy-Love* (Factor 2) and *Sexual Abuse as Paraphilia* (Factor 5). With *Boy-Love* the agreement with this item articulates with their expressed view that women are, or should be, implicated in the sexual abuse of children. With Factor 5, on the other hand, the rating given to this item was more surprising given the focus on the children being a 'convenient' outlet for sexual needs and the opportunistic nature of abuse.

Despite being prominent in the discursivity on child sexual abuse up until the late 1980s (see Chapter 3) and playing a part in the more recent debates (see, for example, Smith, 1994) discourses on mother-blame were largely archived in the explanations that were offered in this study:

42. We will never fully understand why a man is sexually abusing a child in the family, unless we look to the behaviour of the woman (F1/0/; F2/0/; F4/-5; F5/0; F11/-3).

As was previously shown, with both the *Liberal* and *Feminist* accounts, however, a separation was made between women who are the non-abusing carers of children and those who play an active part in the commission of abuse.

Women engaging in sexual abuse

43. The reasons why men sexually abuse children and why women do so are fundamentally the same (F1/-3; F2/+2; F4/+5; F5/+5; F11/0).

In terms of arguing that women engage in sexual abuse as well as men, it was clear that those defining the *Boy-Love* account *have* an investment in saying that women are abusers, so it is not surprising they agreed with the Item above. Indeed, to claim that their motivation is 'the same' is consistent with their normalising discourse. What is interesting is the strong endorsement from the *Liberal* and *Paraphilia* perspectives. It is understandable that the *Liberal* account accepts a broad similarity, given its focus is upon individual responsibility. And liberalism, more generally, supports 'equal rights' (as well as equal responsibilities). So too does the *Paraphilia* endorsement make sense – given that sexual abuse from this perspective is seen as a fetishisation of children and/or a use of them as a convenient sexual outlet. Clearly it is a view that regards women as equally capable of being 'sexually driven' as men.

The dissenting voice is the *Professional* account, that disagrees, albeit mildly. The reason for this can be found within the 'mainstream discourse' that informs the *Professional* account – that men tend to respond to abuse in childhood by becoming abusers, whereas women are more likely to internalise their abuse (for example in the form of depression, anxiety and eating disorders) as well as forming relationships with abusive men. As Hall and Lloyd in their review of the literature on the long term effects of abuse note:

...children revealed a view of themselves as defenceless, worthless, guilty, at risk and threatened from all sides...This picture continues in adulthood with a woman often displaying overwhelming

helplessness, hopelessness and an extremely negative view of herself...Self-blame often generalizes to other experiences in adulthood, leading to further situations where a woman is taken advantage of and exploited (*ibid*, 1989:47)

They continue by saying that although many 'survivors' do manage a close significant relationship with a man

this can be fraught with problems because of its parallels with the abusive childhood relationship...survivors often become involved with men who mistreat them...she [believes that she] deserves to be abused or mistreated (Hall and Lloyd, 1989:60-61).

Rather than tacitly blaming the survivor for her later misfortunes (Worrell, 1992) Wyre (1987) takes a different approach. His argument is that certain men – as part of the grooming process – will target women (and their children) on the basis of a perceived vulnerability.

45. Paedophilia in women is one of the great unrecognised child abuse problems of our time (F1/+1; F2/+2; F4/+4; F5/0; F11/-2).

With Item 45, it is the *Feminist* account that provides the dissenting voice – given the basic tenets of this perspective, it is hardly surprising that it rejects claims that women abusers present a serious problem. Again the *Liberal* account seems to be drawing on principles of egalitarianism and 'fair play' by accepting that women may be abusers, even though cultural stereotypes tend to underplay this possibility. The *Boy-Love* account responds consistently with its normalising agenda. The mild endorsement of this item in *Professional* account is also consistent with its 'story line', informed by the academic literature in this field. For example, Horton *et al* (1990) devote a whole chapter in their book *The Incest Perpetrator* to 'Women as Perpetrators of Child Sexual Abuse: Recognition Barriers', and caution workers in the field not to succumb to the assumption that all 'women are safe'.

68. In terms of child sexual abuse, it is naive to automatically assume that women are safe with children (F1/+3; F2/+4; F4/+5; F11/+2).

This pattern is consistent with the above, other than the endorsement of the *Feminist* account. Probably the word 'naive' is the lever here. While feminism is bound to refute any claims that women pose a serious threat, the majority of feminists would not want to go so far as to suggest that no women are involved in sexual abuse. Indeed as Kelly (1989:15) notes 'I do not want to dismiss the fact that a *few* women do sexually abuse children' [emphasis added].

Views about the child

Children and Consent

As children and consent was a major theme to arise in the Standpoint and Definitions Q-sort, a more detailed examination of these issues will take place in Chapter 5.

1. All other things being equal, the older the child the more we should accept the idea that they may have chosen to get involved in a relationship with an adult (F1/+1/ F2/+ 5; F4/ -4; F5/-4; F11+2).

The debate over the child's ability to consent to sexual conduct with an adult was central to many of the factors that were explicated in the Explanations Q-Sort. With *Boy Love* (Factor 2) for example, the deployment of the sexually agentic child was pivotal to the construction of paedophilia as a sexual orientation, rather than as a form of child sexual abuse. This was accepted by the *Professional* account (Factor 1) to the extent that the statement itself may be correct, but that it is the adult's responsibility not to engage in this conduct.

Another issue that was raised in this account was also intertextual with the *Feminist* account (Factor 11) – that the child's ability to consent should always be viewed within the context of age/power differentials. Thus the child's ability to consent to sexual conduct with adults in any meaningful sense is always limited and problematic. The

idea that children can consent to sexual conduct with adults was strongly contested in both the *Liberal* and *Paraphilia* accounts (Factors 4 and 5 respectively). Whilst there is a degree of intertextuality, to the extent that the child's role in abuse is not subjected to scrutiny, each account draws upon different discourses as the basis of their disagreement. With the *Liberal* account, abuse is seen to be the sole responsibility of the abusing adult and not that of non-abusing carers or the child as this obscures and diverts attention away from the culpability of the abuser. Alternatively, with the *Paraphilia* account the child is seen as a sexual object and plays no active part in the adult/child sexual conduct.

Almost a central tenet within the *Professional* account is that children are not in a position to give informed consent because they do not know what they are consenting to nor are they aware of the implications of sexual conduct with an adult. Indeed this is expressed explicitly in the definition of child sexual abuse that is commonly used by professionals working in this field:

The involvement of dependent, developmentally immature children and adolescents in sexual activities that they do not fully comprehend, and are unable to give informed consent to that violate the social taboos of the family roles... [thereby] rob[bing] them of their developmentally determined control over their bodies. (Schechter and Roberge, 1978: 60).

Additionally, children are viewed as being unable to provide informed consent because they are not in a position to decline the adult on the basis of their physical size and authority (e.g. Haugaard and Repucci, 1988).

Thus within this Q-study, four views of the child's consent were articulated:

View of consent	Account
Children <i>willingly</i> consent to sexual conduct with adults	Boy Love
In principle children should be able to consent but they cannot on the basis that they will always be exploited by the operations of adult power	Liberal
The child is viewed as an object and the consent is not at issue	Paraphilia
The issue of consent diverts attention away from the abuse	Feminist and Professional

Children's vulnerability to Abuse

25. The more we bring up children to please adults, the more we make them vulnerable to adult demands for sex (F1/+4; F2/-3;F4/+2; F5/-1/F11/+4).

In terms of the child's vulnerability, the *Mainstream Professional*, *Liberal* as well as the *Feminist* factors (Factors 1, 4 and 11) share the view that children are raised to please adults in ways that makes them vulnerable to abuse. With the *Sexual Abuse* as *Paraphilia* factor (Factor 5) what is being argued is that it is not the child's vulnerability *per se* that is the key to understanding the abuse, but the way in which children are objectified and viewed as sexual objects (see, for example, Item 14/+4). With *Boy-Love* (Factor 2) the view that children are there to please adults and their inherent vulnerabilities as children is elided by their argument that the child is a subject of their affections and not an object of abuse.

Cycles of abuse and children as abusers

30. There is no reason why a child victim of sexual abuse should go on to become a child sexual abuser themselves (F1/-3; F2/+5; F4/ +1; F5/+3; F11/+5).

There was a broad agreement that being sexually abused did not necessarily mean that the children would later become an abuser themselves. The basic assumption of this cycle – or intergenerational transmission – of abuse thesis is that being sexually abused in childhood engenders a pervasive and enduring sense of powerlessness. In an attempt to control, resolve, assimilate or master these feelings (Stroller, 1975; Burgess *et al*, 1988) the adult is said to re-enact the abuse, this time taking on the powerful subject position of abuser rather than ‘victim’ (see for example Bentovim, 1991).

The rejection of this notion was differently deployed within the various explanatory accounts. With the *Boy-Love* factor it was refuted because boy-love/paedophilia was argued to be a legitimate sexual orientation and not a pathology in need of ‘cure’ or ‘control’ - due to its potential to corrupt. The *Paraphilia* account, in contrast viewed adult-child sex as being saturated pathology. This pathology, however, was viewed as self contained and as such was not affected by a percolation of past experiences of abuse or the present circumstances in which the abuser lives. With the *Feminist* account the notion of cycles of abuse was rejected because the majority of victims of abuse are female and most abusers are male. Thus if it were accepted that children who were abused go on to become abusers then significantly more women should be abusers – which is not the case. The gendered patterns of abuse were further highlighted through the caveat that when a child who has been abused does go on to abuse they are more likely to be male.

A dissenting view was expressed in the *Mainstream Professional Account* (Factor 1). The argument there was that without appropriate safeguards and adequate interventions a ‘cycle of abuse’ was a distinct possibility. Again this was consistent with the professional stories that are told about child sexual abuse, of which Groth, Hobson and Gary provide an example:

...the sexually victimized child - especially the male - runs a high risk of becoming a sexual victimizer...One way in which the male child may try to combat the feelings of powerlessness inherent in being a victim is to ultimately identify with the aggressor...in an attempt to restore control. (*ibid*, 1982:138)

These stories are by no means singular, however, as Kaufman and Zigler note:

Although there is some truth to the notion that abuse is cyclical, there are also many factors that diminish the likelihood of abuse being transmitted across generations. Being maltreated as a child puts one at risk for becoming abusive but the path between these two points is far from direct or inevitable. In the past unqualified acceptance of the intergenerational hypothesis has had many negative consequences. Adults who were maltreated have been told so many times that they will abuse their children that for some it has become a self-fulfilling prophecy. Many who have broken the cycle are left feeling like walking time bombs' (*ibid*, 191-192)

The responses to sexual abuse conducted by other children reflect a broad agreement across the factors, again for different reasons within the context of each account.

67. Sexual abuse by other children is one of the great unrecognised child sexual abuse problems of our time (F1/0; F2/-4; F4/+2/F5/+2; F11/+4).

With *Liberal* factor (Factor 4) this agreement is premised on the view that we need to recognise that all people – including children – have the capacity to choose to become abusers. A similar argument was applied in the *Paraphilia* factor (Factor 5) there, however, the emphasis is placed upon the need to be sexually gratified rather than the capacity to choose. According to the *Feminist* account (Factor 11) whilst *all* children are seen as vulnerable to abuse under patriarchal social arrangements boys are, however, socialised into certain forms of (sexual) conduct in relation to girls and women which are likely to be abusive. MacLeod and Saraga make this point explicitly:

Generally boys and men learn to experience sexuality as an overwhelming and uncontrollable force; they learn to focus their sexual feelings on submissive objects, and they learn the assertion of their sexual desires, the expectation of having them serviced (*ibid*, 1988:41).

With *Boy-Love* there is an investment in asserting children's sexuality not only in relation to adults, but also with each other. Not surprisingly then, just as child sexual abuse is reconceptualised as a sexual orientation, sexual abuse that is conducted by children is construed solely in terms of childhood sexual 'experimentation' (Participant

68). Interestingly, this view is – to a certain extent – intertextual with Burgess et al, who argue that whilst we should be alert to potential re-enactments of sexual abuse this should not be conflated with 'normal' childhood sexual exploration and play:

This includes being sensitive to the reenactment behaviours noted in the initiated activities of abused children, which in turn need to be differentiated from peer play (*ibid*, 1988: 293).

This chapter has considered the factors to emerge from the Explanations for Child Sexual abuse Q-sort in detail. This is because the issues to arise in relation to the abuser, the child and women's involvement in abuse are reflected in the factors that were explicated for the following two Q-sorts. This thesis now moves on to consider the first of these – Standpoints and Definitions of Child Sexual Abuse.

CHAPTER 5

STANDPOINTS ON AND DEFINITIONS OF CHILD SEXUAL ABUSE

Introduction

The Q-set that is described in this chapter examines the claims that are made and the standpoints that are taken over child sexual abuse and the implications these have for the way in which child sexual abuse should be defined. As I stated in Chapter 3, the way in which child sexual abuse is defined has clear evaluative connotations (cf. Archard, 1999). It also has implications for public perceptions of the problem and the research questions to be addressed.

Three factors in this Q-set met the criteria for explication specified in Chapter Section 2, these are listed in the table below:

Factors Exemplified from the Standpoint and Definitions Q-set

Factor	Title
1	A Feminist/Child Protectionist Account
2	A Social Constructionist/Children's Rights Perspective
3	Childhood Sexuality

Standpoints and Definitions: Factor 1

'A Feminist Informed Child Protectionist Account'

Participants Providing Exemplifying Q-sorts¹

Participants	Loading	Details
1	0.71	A 41 year old, British-Jewish, female, Training and Development Adviser. Social work trained, feminist.
3	0.84	A 25 year old British, male, Trainee Clinical Psychologist.
13	0.85	A 32 year old, White-British, female Lecturer in social work, mother and feminist. Has worked in the area of child sexual abuse since 1985.
18	0.71	A 40 year old, female, British, course manager.
22	0.84	A 27 year old female, British, Researcher, lesbian-feminist.
23	0.75	A 41 year old British, male, Child Care Advisor. Has worked in social services for 13yrs.
30	0.81	A 39 year old, White-British, female, Lecturer, radical-feminist.
35	0.76	A 42 year old female, British, Social Worker;
40	0.70	A 23 year old British Staff Nurse, lesbian
50	0.78	A Female, White-British, 39 year old feminist and researcher
65	0.74	A 27 year old British male, Child Protection Social Worker

¹ As this factor was defined by a large number of participants who had a factor loading of >0.67, only those with a loading of >0.70 were used as statistical exemplars to form the composite grid.

High Loaders on the Factor

Participants	Loading	Details
24	0.60	A 57 year old British, female, Trainer
38	0.63	A 24 year old British female, PhD student
46	0.69	A 36 year old White-British male working in training and development in the social services; social services and teaching background
64	0.69	A British, 44 year old; Social Services Dept. worker who chairs child protection case conferences

Factor Summary

The majority of participants who provided exemplifying Q-sorts on this factor described themselves as having some level of professional involvement in the area of child protection and/or an expressed affinity with feminism. Many of these participants also provided exemplificatory Q-sorts for one of two factors that emerged from the Explanations for Child Sexual Abuse Q-set. Participants 35, 64 and 46 provided exemplificatory Q-sorts in the *Mainstream Professional* account defined by Factor 1 with Participants 01, 22, 30 and 50 providing exemplificatory Q-sorts for the *Feminist Informed Understanding* (Factor 11). The standpoint that is adopted towards child sexual abuse therefore appears to draw on mainstream professional and political concerns about child protection coupled with feminist theorisation about child sexual abuse.

In common with the *Feminist Informed* account in the Explanations Q sort, medical models are problematized within this account because they are seen to individualise the problem of abuse, which is defined in the wider terms of male dominance and

(mis)use of power. These models are also seen to elide the important contribution that feminism/child protectionism makes to the detection of abusers and to the recognition and protection of children who have been, or who are in danger of being, abused. Children are defined in this account as a dependent, vulnerable, powerless group essentially in need of, and having the right to, adult protection.

Factor Explication²

In a similar vein to Factor 1 of the previously reported Explanations Q-set (see Chapter 4), the sexual abuse of children is again construed as a serious and widespread problem. The view expressed here is that members of society are unwilling to accept both the facts of abuse and the extent of the problem, preferring instead to 'keep their heads in the sand' (Participant 13):

7. As a society, we tend to turn our backs on and deny those facts about child sexual abuse we cannot bring ourselves to face. (+4)

Agree - the forms of denial shift as we uncover more about the extent and range of sexual abuse (Participant 30).

Yes... a reluctance to accept the fact of abuse is enshrined in our institutions (Participant 35).

Participant 30's response to the Item points to the multiplication but not the changing underlying nature of child sexual abuse (cf. Chapter 3). Sexual abuse is thus construed as having an underlying reality, the true extent of which is hidden by, amongst other things, our social attitudes to the problem. It is also masked behind a media generated 'witch-hunt', where sexual abusers are able to evade detection and through which child protection workers are vilified:

10. The present social climate over child sexual abuse is similar to a witch-hunt in which large numbers of innocent people are bound to be wrongly accused, persecuted and punished (-3).

² The explication of this factor will rely upon the large number of comments received in relation to the items.

A media myth - far more abusers are not being detected, or if they are, the case never gets to court (Participant 30).

No - this is media hysteria. I'm sure there are mistakes, but these are exceptional and professionals are usually very sure before they react (Participant 35).

Thus, far from 'keeping their heads in the sand', child protection practitioners are seen to meet the challenges of child sexual abuse directly. This often involves taking risks. One implication of this that a number of innocent people will inevitably be caught up in such robust attempts to tackle abuse. This risk however, in Participant 65's view, is both unavoidable and worth taking:

...risks are inevitable in any policy to deal with sexual abuse and must be taken to protect children (Participant 65).

Because of this willingness to take risks in order to protect children, child protection workers are often placed in the front-line for criticism and charges of incompetence (Item 25: *As with any fashion in medicine, child sexual abuse attracts the 'cranks', the 'quacks' and the merely 'incompetent'. I-1*), particularly in light of highly publicised 'professional errors'. Such charges, however, are seen as part of a wider 'ploy to pretend that [child sexual abuse] doesn't really exist' (Participant 35), in the sense that it is not taken seriously enough. Such criticisms are also unjustified as they, according to Participant 30, undermine the 'dedicated, creative and generally outstanding' work of practitioners in this field. This is reflected in the comments provided by Participants 22 and 01 to the item:

...CSA is not a field of work one chooses - you back into it fighting all the way (Participant 22).

...anyone working in this field gets labelled and dirtied along with the abusers sadly (Participant 01).

These charges also mean that child protection workers cannot always do what is best for children (Item: 12 *Current practice over child sexual abuse reflects the concerns of*

social workers and other professionals to do what is best for children/+1), because they are continually placed in the position of having 'to watch [their] backs for fear of making a mistake' (Participant 13). This defensiveness is perhaps not surprising when, for example, Howitt's observations of 'child abuse errors' in Cleveland, Nottingham, Rochdale and the Orkney Islands are considered. His argument is that 'Britain had become the world leader in child protection disasters' and that '[p]rofessionals – social workers, doctors, teachers, psychologists, police and others – seemed not to be on top of the job' (1992:ix).

Participant 30 contested the proposition that there is a lot of 'clap-trap' spoken about child sexual abuse by stressing the 'insightful and challenging' contributions that are made by feminists and others who are committed to the protection of children in her response to Item 42/-2. Participant 38, on the other hand, clarified what she considered the 'clap-trap' that is spoken in this area to be, at the same time as demonstrating her alignment with feminist epistemologies on child sexual abuse:

42. There is a lot of 'clap-trap' spoken about child sexual abuse (-2).

True in that the focus, like in rape etc, is put on how the bloke was tempted by uncontrollable sexual desire. Blame is thus shifted to wives who don't do the conjugals and too sexy kids! This is crap!!! (Participant 38).

This feminist/child protectionist stance is also brought out by the responses to the following Item where what is being argued is that the social arrangement of patriarchy creates the enabling conditions for men to abuse:

24. Child sexual abusers are created by the circumstances in which they have lived (+2)

Yes – particularly gender socialisation...and role expectation e.g. male roles as dominant, controlling, powerful, supposedly they have uncontrollable urges etc (Participant 13)

If this means patriarchy then I agree with it (Participant 50)

This adoption of a feminist standpoint in relation to child sexual abuse and child protection was not seen as procuring 'ideological ammunition' (Item 34: *Many so-called 'experts' in this area are turning children's suffering into ideological ammunition/-1*) for wider feminist debates. It was, instead, construed as a recognition that 'practice comes through and out of theory' (Participant 30) and, by implication, child protection practice should be informed by feminist theory. Politics therefore cannot and, perhaps more importantly, should not be kept separate from the discursive arena of child sexual abuse (Item 68: *We should keep politics out of the battle against child sexual abuse/-4*). Or as Participant 35 puts it 'politics is about power is about sexual abuse'.

In terms of defining child sexual abuse Participant 13 suggests that 'what we include and exclude [in our definitions of child sexual abuse] does depend on political frameworks and this is important, but some actions are always included'. So, whilst 'politics' are a useful lens through which to view child sexual abuse the 'thing' itself so viewed, is considered to be ontologically 'stable' (Item 1: *There are some acts towards children that are sexually abusive no matter what the context or the motivation /+4*). Hence, Participant 01's comment in relation to Item 17/+2 'meanings may be defined differently at different times but the violation of a child's body and development sexually does not alter'.

Central to this account is the view that children are essentially vulnerable to the power of adults with sexual abuse being just one such manifestation of power (Item 26: *Child sexual abuse is just one of many unpleasant demonstrations of the power that adults have over children /+5*. Item 49: *Fundamentally all forms of child sexual abuse boil down to misuse of power /+5*). As a result the 'needs and wishes' of the child are not construed in terms of their rights as citizens since they are considered neither able nor ready to fully bear burden this responsibility (cf. Evans, 1993). Instead the question of their rights is crystallised in the 'right not to be hurt' (Participant 30). This, as is shown

by the responses of Participants 16 and 13 to the following Item, suggests that children can never be truly autonomous as they will always be in a position where adults can take advantage of them. This view also creates a discursive space and role for certain adults to act as the defenders of rights to protection:

6. Child sexual abuse would not thrive in a society that saw children as people with needs and wishes of their own. (+4)

A basic philosophical notion about valuing children with which I agree (Participant 24).

I expect there would still be people who wish to abuse those needs and wishes (Participant 16).

There will always be adults who interpret children's wishes as their own (Participant 13).

Freeman makes the point that when rights are spoken of within the framework of protection:

the attention is on certain freedoms that we believe children should have: freedom from abuse and neglect...The claim that children need these 'rights'...is based on the premise that children are unable to care for themselves and so need adult protection, care and guidance (*ibid*, 1983:43).

Freeman's (*op cit*) argument is that claims to protection made on behalf of children are very different to the assertion that they should have more independence and autonomy. The deployment of protectionism in this account, however, does not imply with it an idealised notion of 'innocent childhoods' as this, it is argued, may lead to a situation where children do not have the necessary 'knowledge to alert them to the risk of sexual abuse':

55. The kind of education programmes designed to alert children to the risk of sexual abuse, instead of protecting them may simply destroy their childhood innocence (-4):

Ignorance is not innocence and ignorance cannot protect children (Participant 01)

Childhood innocence is a suspect concept. Better a safe child than "innocent" (Participant 13)

Innocence does not protect children and may in fact increase vulnerability (Participant 30)

The view being expressed here is that children should be in possession of sexual knowledge so that they can be protected and protect themselves from the abusive conduct of adults. This sexual knowledge, however, can never be used to consent to sex. Thus children are positioned in a way that they can always refuse but can never consent to sexual conduct with adults, as this would permit their sexual abuse:

48. A lot of the shock and horror expressed towards child sexual abuse is because people find the idea of childhood sexuality itself difficult to take (+1)

Child sexual abuse is not about childhood sexuality (Participant 30)

I certainly agree that people do find childhood sexuality difficult – but could see this as an argument to justify abuse – i.e. if we accept childhood sexuality (which I do) then we should accept adult/child sex (which I don't). (Participant 35)

15. There is a world of difference between adult-adult and adult child sex (+3)

Yes – like knowing what's happening and being in a position to consent (Participant 16)

Consent cannot be given between child and adult (Participant 30)

In common with the *Mainstream Professional* and *Feminist Informed* accounts in the previous chapter, from which most of the participants who defined this factor are drawn, the child's inability to consent to sexual conduct with adults is pivotal in the standpoint adopted here. Thus, as Foucault (1988) noted and was argued in Chapter 3 of this thesis, childhood sexuality is constructed in ways that exclude adult sexuality. This is because adult sexuality is held as dangerous to children and to 'childhood' in various ways (see Finkelhor, 1979, 1984, 1991 and Levitt, 1990 for a more detailed discussion). It is also seen to be the case that adults always have the power to assert their will over children. Participants 50 and 35's comments in relation to Item 30/-1 can be viewed in this context:

30. Child sexual abuse would have a very different meaning in a society where it was considered natural and normal for adults and children to share sexual enjoyment (-1)

I don't think it's possible for adult-child sex to not involve abuse of power by the adult (Participant 50).

I feel that there are absolutes and sex with children is abuse (Participant 35).

In a slightly different vein, another implication of viewing children as being in possession of particular types of knowledge (which excludes sexual agency), is that this reproduces dominant notions of what childhood is and should be. Furthermore, it retains the concept of adult power to protect children, especially in relation to sexual matters. In other words, one aspect of child sexual abuse – as it is being defined here – is not just an abuse of adult power *per se* but an abuse of the adult's role in terms of steering and regulating the trajectory of 'appropriate' childhoods. This trajectory, whilst not being entirely asexual, is seen as being devoid of sexual agency since it is incompatible with the particular vision of childhood, which is being constructed here (cf. Evans, 1993).

As was shown earlier (and can be demonstrated by the placement of Items 9 and 58, rated +4 and +3 respectively) the abuse of adult power that is being referred to here is gendered in the sense that what is of concern is affording a visibility to the sexually abusive conduct of men, which as Macleod and Saraga note, is:

...the most glaring feature of child sexual abuse...It is something that, overwhelmingly, men do to children. The men come from every social class, and from all kinds of families and cultures...They have little in common other than they are men... (*ibid*, 1988: 16-17)

In broader terms, male power is a construct that is central to the vast majority of feminist analytics, many of which seek to explicate the ways in which this is used to

dominate and oppress women and other marginalised and powerless groups, including children.

An appreciation of the operations of power and oppression are also crucial to the profession of child protection, in order that policies and practices of the profession can be said to be 'non-oppressive' and 'anti-discriminatory'. Thus, there is an explicit recognition in the standpoint being taken here that the problem of sexual abuse extends beyond adult-child sexual contact (Item 52: *The term sexual abuse should be restricted to indecent acts upon children 1-3*) and that all 'powerless' groups are at risk of being treated as sexual objects' As Participant 30, comments:

45. All oppressed groups are at risk of being treated as sexual objects by those in power children are no exception to this (+3)

All forms of oppression are reflected/reproduced/reinforced by the sexual, although not necessarily in exactly the same ways.

This engagement with power and oppression is also reflected in the global nature of child sexual abuse. As was stated earlier, whilst different meanings can be attributed to this form of conduct, child sexual abuse is construed as a universally lived and damaging experience. It is also the case, as Participant 23 notes, that 'adults are always in a position to exploit children', hence:

43. A truly moral definition of child sexual abuse looks to the treatment and conditions of all the World's children. (+2)

I don't think I fully understand this - we should certainly be aware of children everywhere, but this does not imply that combating sexual abuse is a luxury compared with those who are dying through malnutrition, war etc? Or that we need not consider children sold into prostitution in vast numbers? (Participant 35)

21. For the poor and neglected children of the world, a sexual relationship with an adult is a small price to pay for being looked after. (-5)

Abuse is abuse is abuse (Participant 50)

Evidence does not bear this out - sexual abuse is one of the most self esteem destroying experiences anywhere/anytime (Participant 01)

It is never a small price to pay - maybe it is (just) better than death - but that is outside my experience (Participant 35).

This is not on. Poor children deserve a less quality childhood come off it! (Participant 13)

Is a price they should not have to pay - if we are talking about children's rights ought to be looked after without paying any price. All children ought to have similar access to care (Participant 30).

i.e. its O.K. to contrive to use the North as a playground /brothel for exploitation by the South?! (Participant 22)

Sounds like a good excuse for colonial racist sex abusers (Participant 23).

Kelly and Radford highlight the differences and similarities of the victimisation of women and girls in a global, or international, context:

Similarity in some of the forms of sexual violence and in the fact that women and girls are disproportionately its targets and men overwhelmingly its perpetrators; difference in the geographical distribution of some forms and whether and how they are legitimated through law and culture; similarity in the ways in which women are accorded responsibility for the behaviour of men and boys; difference in the precise ways in which this is articulated...(ibid, 1998:54).

Children, both locally and internationally, in common with all oppressed groups of powerless adults, are therefore treated like objects or possessions (Item 16: *The way adults treat children as if they were possessions, contributes to the problem of child sexual abuse* /+4), which in Participant 30's terms 'has more to do with male dominance than simply adult child power relations'. A distinction is therefore made between those forms of adult power over children, which are considered 'good' (i.e. female, nurturing and protective) and those forms of power which are 'bad' (i.e. those associated with men). There are clear implications here for the role of women in the commission of child sexual abuse (cf. Parton, C. 1990) and men's' involvement in all aspects of children's lives, in particular child-care (see Hearn, 1990; Pringle, 1993; and O'Dell, 1998 for a more detailed discussion). Thus, at the same time as providing an account of child sexual abuse, the discursive position being described here also critiques male power and dominance.

In light of what has been argued, the deployment of medical models for defining the sexually abusive behaviour of adults is considered problematic because they elide the issue of male power and, as Participant 50 comments, they are 'too individualistic and can be used to justify behaviour'. They are also contested because child sexual abuse is viewed as being 'far too common for medical models to be useful' (Participant 30: Item 5: *Child sexual abusers have an illness that requires medical management 1-3*). Whilst it is conceded that medical diagnosis may be required to effect the work of child protection by way of corroborating the child's evidence, this should never be considered in isolation from other forms of evidence:

53. Ultimately, the recognition of child sexual abuse is a task for medical diagnosis (-3).

Medical diagnosis is one necessary form of corroboration in a legal system which doubts children's word (Participant 30).

Medical diagnosis, on its own, is viewed as unreliable as the abuse may leave no forensic traces on the body of the child, or in those cases when it does, may dissipate prior to examination:

No - medical diagnosis is often impossible; even if there is medical 'evidence' this often fades with time. There are many other reliable indicators (Participant 35).

No - often there is no medical evidence - particularly around acts such as masturbation, oral rape etc (Participant 50).

Recognising child sexual abuse on the basis of medical evidence alone is also problematized because the 'signs' that a child has been sexually abused frequently extend beyond the damage that can be read from the body of the child, into the psychological damage that is left on the mind:

- not all abuse will have medical evidence but more emotional (Participant 16).

Why? Many forms of abuse don't leave physical marks and doctors aren't experts in the psychological marks CSA leaves (Participant 38)

The recognition and definition of child sexual abuse thus requires an approach to the problem that incorporates the medical, socio-legal and psychological aspects of the problem, one in which child protection workers have a key role to play:

... child sexual abuse has to have comprehensive social, legal and medical assessment (Participant 01)

... child sexual abuse is something more than a medical issue...many forms of CSA leave no physical signs for doctors to detect. CSA is a matter for sociological, psychological recognition and professionals trained in this field (Participant 23).

Finally it is asserted in the standpoint adopted here that whilst the responsibility for child sexual abuse should always lay with the perpetrator, there is a collective responsibility to provide adequate and appropriate responses to the problem:

63. Every adult bears a responsibility when a child in their community has been sexually abused. (+2)

In some ways. But its important to locate responsibility for the actual abuse against a particular child within the perpetrator (Participant 13).

Yes but this does not decrease the responsibility of the abuser (Participant 22).

Agree it is all our problem. But not that every adult bears a responsibility for every abuse (Participant 23).

Not a responsibility for the abuse, but responsibility for believing the child and enabling them to be protected (Participant 30).

Yes I agree, in the sense that we are all responsible for being as aware as possible and for helping children to be aware of their rights etc (Participant 35).

Factor Review

Feminist and child protectionist epistemologies informed the standpoints and definitions that were deployed in this factor. The participants who provided exemplificatory Q-sorts defined child sexual abuse in terms of:

- A universal construct, as adults will always have power over children.
- Patriarchy providing the enabling conditions for abuse
- Children's rights to be protected
- Child sexual abusers were defined as criminals and children as powerless

Standpoints And Definitions: Factor 2

A Social Constructionist³/Children's Rights Perspective on Child Sexual Abuse

Participants Providing Exemplifying Q-sorts

Participants	Loading	Details
11	0.81	A 33 year old British, female, P.T. lecturer & student; (social constructionist)
34	0.70	A British, male lecturer, (social constructionist)
43	0.69	A Black-British, female (social constructionist)
51	0.72	A 66 year old British male, author (boy-love)
68	0.69	An 50+ retired British male (boy-love)
69	0.78	An 18+ Welsh-British male Banker (boy-love)
70	0.76	A 49 year old British male lecturer (boy-love)

³ Although there are clear resonances between the critical polytextualist position that was outlined in Chapter 1 of this thesis and the discursive position(s) taken in this factor, I will use the term 'social constructionist' as this was the participants preferred term.

High Loaders on the Factor

Participants	Loading	Details
04	0.66	A 24 year old British male Student (social constructionist)
32	0.67	A British female Lecturer (social constructionist)
28	0.65	A 38 year old British female Solicitor (member of the child care panel)
49	0.61	A 51 year old British male University Lecturer

Factor Summary

The standpoint that is adopted in this factor draws upon social constructionist theorising to argue the case for children's rights. The participants who provided the sorting configurations which defined it (which include myself), argued that the knowledge(s) which claim to disclose the Truth about child sexual abuse are partial, partisan and, moreover, contingent and because of this should also be opened up to critical scrutiny. Child sexual abuse is therefore construed within a context of the socially constructed and contested nature of knowledge. Taylor makes a similar point when he argues that:

[n]o behaviour is necessarily child abuse...Some sets of facts come to be labelled as cases of child abuse because they go beyond the limits of what is now considered to be acceptable conduct towards a child. These standards change over time and also vary, not only between cultures, but also between different members of the same culture. Child abuse is thus a social construction whose meaning arises from the value structure of a social group and the ways in which these values are interpreted and negotiated in real situations (*ibid*, 1989:49)

Whilst definitions of child sexual abuse *per se* were seen as problematic, abuse was delimited in terms of the ways in which children's rights were constructed and deployed. For example, the view that children's rights should be defined solely in

terms of their right to be 'protected' – because they are inherently dependent and vulnerable – was challenged. This is because adults retain the right of definition – and hence power – over the child. This, in the view being expressed here, may lead to denial or loss of rights, or even abuse in other areas of children's lives. Thus children's rights were construed in terms of citizenship and self-determination, without being naïve to the power imbalances between adults and children.

Whilst being taken seriously in its own right, child sexual abuse is seen to dominate the agenda of 'child concern' in a way that may detract from the numerous other ways in which children may be mistreated (see, for example, Hearn, 1988; Stainton Rogers and Stainton Rogers, 1992).

Although a number of participants whose sorting patterns loaded highly on this factor described themselves as social constructionist, the factor was also defined by the sorting patterns of the advocates of 'boy-love' who were recruited to take part in the study. It would appear that social constructionist concerns over the socially constructed and contested nature of what passes for knowledge in the discursive arena of child sexual abuse, and the deployment of children's rights to citizenship, can also make and mark a rhetorical space (Bell, 1995) for those who wish to justify a paedophile/boy-love standpoint on child sexual abuse. Thus discourses on children's emancipation and their broad entitlements were taken on board to specifically argue the case for their sexual rights. In my explication of this account, I will therefore, juxtapose the social constructionist reading against that of 'boy-love'.

Factor Explication

The view that child sexual abuse needs to be read against the socially constructed and shifting nature of understandings was demonstrated by the following:

47. Adult-child sexual activity has happened throughout history. All that differs is the extent to which, at any point in time, it is seen as 'desirable', 'sinful', 'normal', 'wrong' or just in 'bad taste' (+5).

64. Child sexual abuse is not a 'thing' that happens to children, but a category society has created (+2).

A category which, in a sense, vitiates the idea of child sexuality (Participant 32).

In the *Feminist/Child Protectionist* account (Factor 1) it was argued that, whilst understandings may vary, there is an underlying reality to child sexual abuse which is unchanging. Here what is being rejected is not that children are sexually abused but the foundationalist claims that are made about it (although it is worth noting that reasons why social constructionists say this and advocates of 'boy-love' do so are different). Thus what is being argued is that child sexual abuse needs to be viewed against the (historical, social, political) backdrop against which this activity takes place. Additionally, as can be shown by Participant 32's response to Item 32 (above), many of the foundational claims that are made about the sexual abuse of children 'write out' the notion that children may be sexual in their own right.

The rating given and Participant 11's response to Item 1 further demonstrate the shifting notions and understandings of child sexual abuse:

1. There are some acts towards children that are sexually abusive, no matter what the context or the motivation (-2)

Not if they take place in a society or culture where sexual relations with children was the norm (Participant 11).

This is not to impugn the fact that children are subjected to appalling acts of abuse (by this culture's standards at least) but how understandings of such behaviour are not, and cannot be, universally fixed. Thus child sexual abuse will be differentially put into discourse according to the normative values that manifest across time and place. Additionally, to say that many of the received notions of child sexual abuse in this culture are the socially constructed products of late 20th Century discourses of child concern is also not to imply that we should 'do nothing' about sexual abuse:

36. By the year 2000, I expect a new social problem will have replaced child sexual abuse as a focus of public concern. (+2)

Cynical stuff - we shouldn't allow the 'truth' of this item to will us into an aloof and distanced apathy. (Participant 04).

Reactions to child sexual abuse should also be gauged according to the actual threat posed by this form of conduct:

46. Children can be much more damaged by our over reactions and anger at their being sexually abused, than by the abuse itself (+5).

Yes I think this can be true. We should react to abuse, but over reaction does not help anyone, least of all the child (Participant 11).

It is also clear why this notion of shifting, historically and culturally specific discourses that is deployed by social constructionists would appeal to advocates of 'boy-love' as they routinely deploy 'historical' narratives to justify their position in the present. It is worth quoting Eglington on 'Greek Love' (cf. Chapter 4) in this context:

it has persisted in one form or another, publicly acknowledged or concealed, for thousands of years despite shifting cultural attitudes by turn favourable, indifferent, blind or hostile (*ibid.*, 1971:3).

The current situation of child sexual abuse is such that the numerous other ways in which children are, or might be, abused are elided by concerns over sexual abuse:

11. The moral panic about child sexual abuse runs the risk of making us shift our attention from the damage done by violence and neglect towards children. (+4)

I think it has definitely put physical violence and neglect into the shadows - as if they are not so important (Participant 11).

YES – absolutely (Participant 32).

7. As a society, we tend to turn our backs on and deny those facts about child sexual abuse we cannot bring ourselves to face. (+2)

In some cases - but people also become fixated to the exclusion of other forms of mistreatment. We are even less willing to take this on board because it is uncomfortable or inconvenient (Participant 32).

All of this has implications for the way in which child sexual abuse is defined:

I am concerned about any definition of sexual abuse (Participant 11, Item 8/0).

What the social constructionists in this discursive position are challenging is the view that 'definitions' can be mapped onto a 'reality out there'. Rather than being referential the idea of 'definitions' (*qua* definition) simplifies, obscures, actively constructs and reproduces the social realities they purport to describe⁴. It is also the case, in a point alluded to by Participant 11 in her response to the following Item, that definitions are put to use by different people, in different settings, in order to achieve a range outcomes:

38. It is perfectly possible to develop a definition of child sexual abuse, with which everyone could agree. (-3)

Try climbing a rainbow instead (Participant 04).

I doubt it - otherwise a lot of researchers/practitioners would be out of a job (Participant 11).

Parton et al (1997), in a point directed to the field of child abuse more generally, highlight the implications of the lack of a standardised definition. They argue that this:

creates a fundamental problem when attempts are made to judge its existence, prevalence, size and significance. If researchers are unable to agree about what constitutes child abuse it, potentially, puts policy makers and practitioners in an invidious position of trying to identify and treat a problem whose nature and magnitude remain undefined (*ibid*, 1997: 48).

Given the various ways in which definitions of child sexual abuse are debated and deployed, it makes little sense to say that one of the benefits of the term is that it is 'simple enough for a child to understand and use' (Item 29: *One of the great benefits*

⁴ See Chapter 3 of this thesis where these ideas are explored in more detail.

of the term *child sexual abuse*, is that it is simple enough for a child to understand and use /-2). Which, as Participant, 11 notes:

How is it simple enough for a child to understand when there are debates amongst professionals as to its definition? (Participant 11)

The position taken over defining sexual abuse is extended through Item 27 (Item 27: *We should not allow crimes like rape and buggery to get hidden under the label of child sexual abuse/+2*) where this time the generic term – child sexual abuse – that is given to a whole range of activities is problematised. This is because it treats as analogous a range of activities that are distinctly different (cf. Clegg, 1994). One implication of this is that ‘more serious’ acts of abuse may be obscured (Grady, 1983; Kraminer, 1993). In different vein, the so-called ‘boy-lovers’ would wish to have a definition of child sexual abuse that *only* includes these ‘more serious’ forms of (violent, non consensual) conduct for obvious reasons. Brongersma, (1988), an ardent defender of this position, argues that sexual behaviour between adults and children should be categorised according to three criteria. The first of these is where the ‘child is subjected to violence, threats or abuse of authority’ (p38). Against such aggression, he argues, ‘the child should be protected by the full force of the law’ (p38). The second category is one that Brongersma describes as giving rise to ‘feelings of oddness or ridiculousness’ (p39) in the child which – in his recommendation – should be dealt with *without* recourse to criminal procedure. In terms of Category Three, where ‘the child likes the adult and the sexual relationship’ (p39), Brongersma asserts that ‘penal law, with its blunt weapons, is here entirely inappropriate’. Interestingly, the involvement of legal apparatus is deemed as being either inappropriate or unnecessary in all but one of the three scenarios Brongersma describes.

Definitions of child sexual abuse are further problematised through Items 50 and 52 in this account. With Item 50, Participant 11 appears to be expressing the view that in some cases well-intentioned attempts to protect children have, in practice, had an

opposite effect. Also – in contrast to *Feminist/Child Protectionist* factor where this was seen as negligible problem - it also appears to be the case that broad definitions of child sexual abuse may erroneously place the conduct of non-abusing adults and non-abused children under the spotlight of concern:

50. The development of the term child sexual abuse to bring together many forms of suffering has done a great deal to help children in our society. (-3)

Yes -, but it seems to have also harmed some of the children and their families (Participant 11).

52. The term sexual abuse should be restricted to indecent acts upon children (-3).

53.

New Right discourses on moral decline were dismissed as being unhelpful:

54. Child sexual abuse is a symptom of a decline in moral values. (-3)

What a load of rubbish - child sexual abuse has more to with abuse of power than declining moral values (Participant 11).

Unhelpful nonsense. This is how never to understand anything. Get down Mary Whitehouse (Participant 04).

For the 'boy-lovers' who loaded significantly on this factor, the rejection of this item is perhaps more to with the moral/ethical space they wish to carve out for adult/child sexual conduct (see Explanations Factor 2, see also Chapter 7). Item 57 can also be seen in this context:

57. Sex with children is an offence against nature. (-5)

Unhelpful, short-sighted, logo-centric crap (Participant 04).

The following Items also demonstrate the duality of discursive positions in this account. For the social constructionists, locating the actions of child sexual abusers in religion, individual psychopathology or discourses of perversion is regarded as a

simplification. For the 'boy-lovers', however, the following statements are rejected because they run counter to the normalising agenda that formed part of the *Boy-Love* explanation for child sexual abuse (in Explanations, factor 2):

23. Child sexual abusers have a sickness of the soul, which needs spiritual help. (-5)

No - what is the 'soul' anyway - an excuse for being 'bad' and 'evil' - what a cop out! (Participant 11).

65. Child sexual abusers have a psychological disorder requiring therapy. (-4)

No, no more than they have an illness (Participant 11).

66. Adults who have sex with children are best understood as simply perverted. (-4)

This will get you nowhere - but it might make you feel good and moral (Participant 04).

62. For all the honeyed words of the paedophile lobby a child sexual abuser remains a pervert in my book (-4).

The rejection of those statements which suggest that a 'medical model' should be deployed in terms of defining abusers and detecting abuse, can be read in a similar vein. For the social constructionists, on the hand, a problematisation of the epistemological base of medical models is part of the wider scrutiny of hegemonic discourses. What is argued through this problematisation is that whilst medicine largely attends to the pathologies of the human body, the medical model extends to the pathologies of the *human condition*. Within these conceptual frameworks both the human body and the human condition *are* thought to be subject to certain predictable, universal laws. Medicine, through a decoding of nature claims a privileged position with respect to revealing and understanding the pathologies of the human body, and by implication affords itself the power to heal. It is through the powerful discursive alliance between medicine and nature and the institutionalisation of these discourses

that the medical model gains credibility and can be said to be hegemonic. It is this notion that the 'human condition', governed by 'natural laws' and decoded by science that is subjected to critical scrutiny under social constructionist⁵.

What is being argued in this specific context is twofold. First is that the propensity to sexually abuse should not be seen in terms of illness as to do so feeds into the model which relies on a problematic ontology of the individual. Secondly, as Participant 11 notes, (in a comment that is intertextual with the *Feminist/Child Protectionist* account described earlier) that a wider network of approaches and skills are required than those which are offered by the medical model:

5. Child sexual abusers have an illness that requires medical management (-5).

No, whatever causes people to abuse I don't think it is an illness (Participant 11).

Yuk - just gives more power to the medical hegemony (Participant 32).

53. Ultimately, the recognition of child sexual abuse is a task for medical diagnosis. (-4)

No, medical diagnosis can only provide part of the evidence for abuse - behaviour, emotional states, language etc. are also held to give signs (Participant 11).

You can't operate on a socially constructed definition - can you? Hand me the scalpel (Participant 04).

In addition to being a simplification, the construal of child sexual abusers within medical or pathological models also warrants certain forms of conduct in relation to those so defined. There was also more than a little self-interest at work in the response provided by Participant 51, an advocate of 'boy-love', to the following item:

⁵ See Parton (1985) for a problematisation of the medical model in relation to child abuse.

67. I have a sneaking sympathy with those prisoners who 'take the law into their own hands' with convicted child sexual abusers. (-4).

If they take the law into their own hands it is not the law (Participant 51).

An eye for an eye and the whole world is blind. I think Ghandi said that (Participant 04).

As child sexual abuse is constructed as a social and not an ontological category within this account, the view that child protection professionals can intervene benignly on behalf of children on the basis of an agreed upon reality is subject to challenge:

12. Current practice over child sexual abuse reflects the concerns of social workers and other professionals to do what is best for children. (-2)

But they don't always know what is best - is it always best to remove the child from the family? (Participant 11).

Professional practice in this area is additionally scrutinised in terms of the wider project of normalisation. Child protection workers are not simply and singularly engaged in the process of protecting the children on their case load, but are also implicated in 'complex issues related to the nature and balance of *relationships* between and *responsibilities* of various state agents and private households, primarily parents and carers in the rearing of children'. (Parton, et al, 1997:19), or alternatively put, the governance of populations through the promotion of normality. This governance has wider implications for all children and all adults:

39. Making parents frightened of being physically close to their children is not a way of reducing the risk of child sexual abuse, it is a form of abuse (+3).

Yes -it's not nice to be watched and judged. The image of the panopticon in Foucault's carcereal society springs ominously to "mind" (Participant 04).

41. All children suffer from sexual abuse in the sense that the threat of it is always there. (-2)

- but only if they are aware of that threat (Participant 11).

What is robustly endorsed in the standpoint(s) being adopted here is the notion of children's rights:

17. Child sexual abuse is a political concept, the meaning of which alters according to how the rights and needs of children are defined. (+4)
37. An effective definition of child sexual abuse must draw upon notions of the child's basic human rights. (+4)
16. The way adults treat children as if they were possessions, contributes to the problem of child sexual abuse. (+2)

Probably, in the way that some men think their wives belong to them and so they can beat them if they so desire (Participant 11).

"It's mine, I'll fuck it if I want." Our attitudes towards children don't do much to suppress this discourse (Participant 04).

Thus, in Participant 4's terms, it is 'our attitudes towards children' which is seen to provide the enabling conditions – family secrecy for example – for abuse to take place. There are echoes of this point in Participant 11 's response to the item:

Family secrecy is something which has been created by our refusal to recognise and/or empower children in their own right (Participant 11).

Item 30 was endorsed as it not only reflects social constructionist discursive positions, but it also makes the broader point about the conflation of childhood sexuality with child sexual abuse:

30. Child sexual abuse would have a very different meaning in a society where it was considered natural and normal for adults and children to share sexual enjoyment. (+2)

Yes - our denial of child sexuality creates the meaning of abuse (Participant 11).

Tautologically true - but true nevertheless. And an insight which doesn't close our mind at the first emotional obstacle (Participant 04).

This refusal to conflate childhood sexuality with child sexual abuse was also brought out by the positioning of the Item 59:

59. The ordinary sex play that goes on between children should not be mistaken for child sexual abuse (+3).

It is also the case – for the social constructionists at least – that observation should not be used as a means to justify, or gain, sexual access to children:

48. A lot of the shock and horror expressed towards child sexual abuse is because people find the idea of childhood sexuality itself difficult to take. (+2)

Not only difficult to take, many people would deny it existed (Participant 11).

Yes, but this is not to condone CSA “we other Victorians” (Participant 04).

The responses given to Item 32 illustrate the way in which the standpoint(s) being adopted here were used to bring about divergent discursive effects. Participant 11, who defines herself as a social constructionist, attempts to contextualise child sexual abuse, whilst Participant 51 (an advocate of boy-love) uses the Item to both endorse adult/child sexual contact and to deflect accusations of abuse on to others:

32. There are many worse things that can happen to children than forming a sexual relationship with an adult. (+3)

Like being devoid of a relationship of any type with anyone (Participant 11).

Yes - being kidnapped by social workers and abused by doctors (Participant 51).

In another statement that is intertextual with the *Feminist/Child Protectionist* account, the idea of ‘childhood innocence and keeping children ‘ignorant’ about sexual matters is rejected:

55. The kind of education programmes designed to alert children to the risk of sexual abuse, instead of protecting them may simply destroy their childhood innocence (-2)

Why?, and anyway why do we place so much value on 'childhood innocence' - surely knowledge is better than ignorance, particularly so child knows what is going on if abuse occurs - knows it is not 'a game' (Participant 11).

In keeping with the children's rights perspective of this account, the placement of Item 18 suggests that we should, as far as possible, put the child's experience at the centre of our definitions of child sexual abuse:

18. What is, and what is not, child sexual abuse can only be defined in terms of the effect upon the child. (+2)

Kelly (1988a) seems to be expressing a similar view when she argues that definitions of abuse should be approached from the phenomenological perspective of the child. Her point is that when a child feels violated or humiliated by any experience then that experience should count as abuse. Kelly's analysis, however, is uni-directional in the sense that she does not allow for the manifold ways in which children might interpret these experiences, that is to say that they are always understood within a context of adult-centred understandings of abuse (cf. Levett, 1990). Thus ultimately, the power to define whether or not, the extent or the ways in which, the child has interpreted this experience as abusive – even from this phenomenological perspective – resides with the adult. Herman with Hirschman (1981) express Kelly's view in much stronger terms when they assert that 'the actual sexual encounter may be brutal or tender, painful or pleasurable; but it is always inevitably destructive to the child' (1981:4). So whilst being highly appropriate to younger children, or those who have experienced particular kinds of abuse, Kelly's argument becomes problematic when applied to older children who may wish to describe their experiences in different ways. It also regulates the conduct of older children by making them subjects of child sexual abuse

discourses (cf. Smart, 1989) thereby failing to acknowledge them as citizens in their own right.

Factor Review

The standpoint(s) adopted in this factor argued that:

- What passes for knowledge on child sexual abuse is shifting, changing and contextually bound;
- sexual abuse should be defined in terms of an infringement of children's rights;
- children's lack of power creates the enabling conditions for child sexual abuse;
- discourses on childhood sexuality should not be conflated with child sexual abuse.

Standpoints and Definitions: Factor 3

Childhood Sexuality

Participants Providing Exemplifying Q-sorts

Participant	Loading	Details
36	0.81	A 19 year old Black-British student
44	0.71	A 55 year old West-Indian (British) factory maintenance worker/fitter
60	0.85	A 19 year old Black-British student

Factor Summary

This factor was defined by the sorting patterns of three participants none of whom declared any 'specialist' knowledge about or experience of child sexual abuse. In this sense this standpoint can be said to be based on an 'everyday' understanding of child sexual abuse. Additionally, as all the participants identified themselves as Black, this may well have some bearing on the viewpoint being expressed here. This account situates the rights and wrongs of adult/child sexual conduct within a context that both takes account of the child's experience of such activity as well as the prevailing social and cultural mores. In light of this, universal constructs such as the 'wrongness' or the inevitable 'harmfulness' of child sexual abuse are dismissed on two counts. First, because they are viewed as being adultist for failing to adequately take account of child's experience of this activity. And secondly, because they elide the cultural complexities and variations that give meaning to adult-child sexual contacts. A distinction is therefore drawn between a child's right to be sexual and the culturally defined responsibility of the adult not to respond to that child's sexuality. These are

thought to be so strong that any adult who fails to observe them is seen as pathological.

To the extent that children's sexuality and the role of society in defining what is, and what is not, appropriate forms of conduct are acknowledged, the standpoint being adopted here is intertextual with the *Social Constructionist/Children's Rights* discursive position described earlier in this chapter. Unlike that position however, this factor, portrays the adult as having some level of psychopathology. This is not surprising given that this view was also expressed in the *Sexual Abuse as Paraphilia* account (Explanations Factor 5) where both Participants 36 and 60 provided exemplifying Q sorts.

In light of the fact that none of the participants provided written comments to accompany the positioning of items, only a tentative explication of the factor is offered here. My interpretations of the views expressed in the factor were, however, clarified via a telephone interview conducted with Participants 36 and 60.

Factor Explication

With the *Feminist/Child Protectionist* account Item 7 was used to make a statement about the extent and severity of abuse as well as providing a warrant for feminist informed interventions into child sexual abuse. In this account, the Item appears to be used quite differently. When read alongside Items 48 and 59, its positioning suggests that one of the 'facts' which is denied in debates over child sexual abuse is the notion of childhood sexuality:

- 7. As a society, we tend to turn our backs on and deny those facts about child sexual abuse we cannot bring ourselves to face (+2).
- 48. A lot of the shock and horror expressed towards child sexual abuse is because people find the idea of childhood sexuality itself difficult to take. (+4)
- 59. The ordinary sex play that goes on between children should not be mistaken for sexual abuse. (+3)

Alongside challenging arid and decontextualised representations of childhood sexuality, the standpoint being taken here argues that the rules governing sexual conduct is subject to cultural variation:

30. Child sexual abuse would have a very different meaning in a society where it was considered natural and normal for adults and children to share sexual enjoyment (+5).

To say this, however, is not to dismiss child sexual abuse as being merely a 'category society has created' (Item 64: *Child sexual abuse is not a 'thing' that happens to children, but a category society has created* 1-5). In fact, child sexual abuse is considered to be one of the most pressing problems facing Britain today and the massive attention and publicity that this issue currently receives is seen to be appropriate:

69. There are many more pressing problems facing Britain today than that of child sexual abuse (-5).
11. The moral panic about child sexual abuse runs the risk of making us shift our attention from the damage done by violence and neglect towards children (-2).

Furthermore, to argue that some societies may condone or endorse certain forms adult/child sexual conduct is not also to suggest that child sexual abuse can only be defined with reference to the cultural context within which it manifests. The view here is that, ultimately there are certain acts which – at all times and in all places – are abusive:

56. It is perfectly possible to have a society in which children are never sexually abused (-2).
1. There are some acts towards children that are sexually abusive no matter what the context or the motivation (+3).

Practices like circumcision appear to fall into this 'universal' category of abuse:

4. Practices like circumcision (male and female) should be defined as forms of ritualistic abuse (+2).

So too do other forms of abuse which masquerade as mutually beneficial 'exchanges' between the adult and child:

21. For the poor and neglected children of the world, a sexual relationship with an adult is a small price to pay for being looked after (-4).
35. Whatever name we may call the adult client of a child prostitute, 'child abuser' is not the right one (-4).

Whilst the cultural context of abuse may vary, ultimately being 'cared for', 'having an income', or 'living in a free society' should not be 'paid for in the currency of child sexual abuse' (Item 51: *The price of living in a free society should not be paid for in the currency of child sexual abuse* /+5). This juxtapositioning between the culturally 'relative' and the 'real' resonates with the dilemma of cultural relativism and child protection, which Channer and Parton express as a concern:

... with the problems of a practice that takes seriously the subjective realities of other cultural norms and values but that attempts at the same time to protect the interests of the child concerned (*ibid*, 1990: 105).

What is being argued (in common with the *Social Constructionist/Children's Rights* factor) in the standpoint being taken here is that childhood sexuality should not be conflated with child sexual abuse. But it is also the case that whilst cultural practices and beliefs provide a framework for understanding abuse there are, nonetheless, certain acts outside of this shifting cultural context that will always be designated as abusive. As such, definitions of sexual abuse should not be approached with this relativism in focus (Item 61: *Child sexual abuse is in the 'eye of the beholder'!*/-2). Furthermore, whilst it is the case that adult-child and adult-adult sex may not be worlds apart (Item 15: *There is world of difference between adult-child and adult-adult*

sex /-2), this in no sense should be used as lever for those adults wishing to engage a child in sexual conduct. Nor should it be condoned on the grounds that it is 'educative' or an accidental epiphenomenon that occurs when adult and child sexuality coincide:

22. Many of those we call 'child sexual abusers' are doing little more than adding the practical side to sex education (-4).
28. The borderline between giving a child physical pleasure through body contact and sexual pleasure through body contact, is a difficult one to draw (-4).

Whilst child sexual abuse is considered to be one of many 'unpleasant demonstrations that adults have over children' (Item 26: *Child sexual abuse is just one of many unpleasant demonstrations of the power that adults have over children* /+5) this power is not seen in explicitly gendered terms, nor is it linked to feminist-informed analyses of the oppressive and sometimes abusive nature of family life:

9. Sexual abuse is often children's first experience of male power, but it is seldom their last (-2).
2. What passes for ordinary family life in our society is in itself a sexually abusive experience (-5).
58. Where men monopolise the power in a household, there is no hope of reducing the incidence of sexual abuse in the family (-3).

In this factor the sexual abuse of children is defined in similar terms to the individual psychopathological/medical models that were deployed in the *Sexual abuse as Paraphilia* factor (Explanations Factor 5). This perhaps explains why the standpoint being taken here defines child sexual abuse within epistemologies relating to illness, disease or more general 'personal disorders' and dysfunctions as opposed to gender or family processes:

3. Paedophilia is a moral disorder rather than a disease (-3).
5. Child sexual abusers have an illness that requires medical management (+2).

- 65. Child sexual abusers have a psychological disorder requiring therapy (+4)
- 23. Child sexual abusers have a sickness of the soul, which needs spiritual help (+2).

In light of this, the recognition of child sexual abuse is ultimately 'a task for medical diagnosis' (Item 53: *Ultimately, the recognition of child sexual abuse is a task for medical diagnosis/+3*), which has implications for the (individualised) way in which the problem is responded to. Defining child sexual abuse in this way also has implications for where the responsibility for the abuse is thought to lie – that is *within* the non-gendered, pathological/dysfunctional, self-contained individual.

Items 63 and 12 can be read along similar lines. If it is the case that child sexual abuse is an individualised problem then it also follows that every adult should not be expected to take responsibility when a child in their community has been sexually abused (Item 63: *Every adult bears a responsibility when a child in their community has been sexually abused /-3*). Additionally – in a point made earlier – community responses to the problem of child sexual abuse (social work for example) are construed as misguided as ultimately the recognition of and responses to child sexual abuse should be explicitly informed by medical models (Item 53/+3):

- 12. Current practice over child sexual abuse reflects the concerns of social workers and other professionals to do what is best for children (-3).

In contrast to the *Feminist/Child Protectionist* standpoint described earlier, this adoption of a medical approach (with its attendant allusions to accuracy and facticity) would also, arguably, avoid a situation where a large number of 'professional errors' (cf. Howitt, 1992) are made and one where people are wrongly targeted and labelled as abusers:

- 10. The present social climate over child sexual abuse is similar to a witch-hunt in which large numbers of innocent people are bound to be wrongly accused, persecuted and punished (-2).

A further implication of this deployment of a medicalised standpoint on child sexual abuse is that it creates a distance between sexually abusing Others and normal, right-minded adults. Given that actions in this area are guided medical rationalities, it is unlikely to be the case that:

20. Those who most desire to punish child sexual abusers are those who most fear such tendencies in themselves (-2).

The following item can also be read in this context, as the risks to children are only thought only to arise in relation to the actions and/or intentions of a few pathological/dysfunctional individuals who fail to observe the social sanctions regulating adult/child sexual conduct:

41. All children suffer from sexual abuse in the sense that the threat of it is always there (-3).

In addition to avoiding over-generalisation, it is also important that we do not overreact to incidents of child sexual abuse as:

46. Children can be much more damaged by our over reactions and anger to their being sexually abused, than by the abuse itself (+4).

In this we should take our lead from children themselves:

18. What is, and is not, child sexual abuse can only be defined in terms of its effect upon the child (+2)

The development of the term 'child sexual abuse' is generally viewed as a good thing because it brings 'together many forms of suffering' (Item 50: *The development of the term child sexual abuse to bring together many forms of suffering has done a great deal to help children in our society* /+4) as well as providing children with a way of naming these experiences of abuse:

29. One of the great benefits of the term child sexual abuse, is that it is simple enough for a child to understand and use (+3).

That said, there is a danger that the use of such a 'simple' term obscures the acts that children are subjected to and may also be seen as an experience which only applies to children:

27. We should not allow crimes like rape and buggery to get hidden under the label of child sexual abuse (+3).
52. The term sexual abuse should be restricted to indecent acts upon children (-3).

Factor Review

In this factor child sexual abuse was defined in terms of:

- A recognition that children are sexual beings;
- Cultural norms, beliefs and practices which give child sexual abuse meaning, whilst at the same time recognising that certain acts will always be considered abusive;
- The pathological conduct of adults who transgress social mores in relation to adult/child sex.

Discussion

As, in one way or another, the ensemble of discursive positions that were explicated on this Q sort articulated with the contested terrain of children's rights and childhood sexuality, it is upon this that the discussion here will focus.

Children's Rights

As was shown in the forgoing discussion, the notion of children's rights is not singularly deployed and the concept itself is, as Freeman (1983: 32) has argued, 'a catch all idea embracing different notions'. What was shown in the *Feminist/Child Protectionist* factor, for example, was that when rights are spoken of in a child protection framework, the focus is placed upon certain adult-defined rights which it is thought that children should have (cf. Freeman, 1983). This centrally includes what Participant 30 refers to as 'the right not to be hurt' and is predicated upon constructions of the dependent and vulnerable child. As children are construed as being too dependent upon and subject to the authority of adults to make their own choices, decisions about the definition of their children's rights as well as judgements about their welfare, conduct and wellbeing are placed solely in the hands of adults (cf. Fox Harding, 1991).

The viewpoint that was expressed in the *Social Constructionist/Children's Rights* factor, on the other hand, defined children's rights in terms of their self-determination. The argument there was that whilst there will be circumstances where adults have to be mobilised in order to promote or safeguard the welfare of children (cf. Roche, 1992), this should not be used as a warrant to regulate *all* aspects of children's lives. Furthermore, the act of placing the power to protect children solely in the hands of child protectionists could amount to a 'misplaced act of faith' (Corteen and Scraton, 1997: 77) because protection, when viewed from this context, amounts to regulation

by 'containing' children within dominant frameworks of childhood vulnerability and dependency.

Thus within the *Social Constructionist* factor, the notion of childhood as dependent derives not from their inherent dependency but through the way in which childhood itself is defined. Furthermore, this notion of inherent childhood dependency and vulnerability can be seen as a highly particularised and situated concept that elides the strengths and resourcefulness that children often demonstrate in the face of adversities of various kinds some of which are described by Scraton below:

Their [children's] enslavement as marginal, easily expendable and unprotected workers in sweatshops, mines factories and, more recently, highly sophisticated light industry in the world's economic free zones is well-documented. Less thoroughly researched has been the essential contributions made by children and young people in the domestic sphere, as surrogate mothers, cleaners, carers, fetchers and carriers. (*ibid*, 1997: 178).

The argument in the *Social Constructionist/Children's Rights* factor is that adult-defined and controlled notions of children's rights reproduce rather than respond to childhood dependency (cf. Kitzinger, 1990; Stainton Rogers and Stainton Rogers, 1992; Stainton Rogers and Stainton Rogers, 1999). One way of tackling this that is suggested in this account is to interpret children's rights more broadly in terms of affording them greater opportunities for self-determination (cf. Fox Harding, 1991) in all areas of their lives – including their sexuality and sexual conduct.

Childhood Sexuality

Each of the discursive positions described in this chapter argued that childhood sexuality should not be conflated with child sexual abuse. What was seen as constituting 'childhood sexuality' and how it was defined, however, varied in each account. In the *Feminist/Child Protectionist* standpoint, for example, at the same time as acknowledging that 'innocence' of sexual matters makes children vulnerable to abuse, it was argued that children were deemed incapable of sexual expression and consent. This, presumably, was viewed as the sole preserve of adults (cf. Weeks,

1989). Corteen and Scraton point to the regulatory function of viewing children as dependent, vulnerable 'adults-in waiting', who are always and essentially in need of adult protection. This need to be protected, they argue, extends beyond the physical dangers that pose a threat to children. It also includes protection from moral dangers, or as they put it, children are viewed as being in need of 'protection from strangers, protection from evil, protection from impure thoughts [and] protection from moral denigration...' (*ibid*, 76-77).

In the *Social Constructionist/Children's Rights* factor, it was argued that children's rights to be sexual should not be overshadowed by, and must be seen alongside, their rights – as citizens – to be protected from abuse. Although it can be said the dividing line between what is and what is not considered to be abusive is drawn in different places by the social constructionists and 'boy-lovers' who defined it. As was also shown, the children's rights talk that was deployed in this account was imbued with more than a little self-interest by those who described themselves as advocates of 'boy-love'. This self-interest is neatly captured by Jeffreys, who makes the point that:

One might be forgiven for thinking that the paedophile movement was simply a movement of men demanding sexual access, without legal hassles, to the territory of children's bodies. But the paedophile lobby did not put their politics across in this way...[They] gave out that they were selflessly striving for the sexual liberation of children. Children were deprived of most important rights, they argued, under the authoritarian rule of the family and the parents sanctified by the state. The most onerous aspect of such a regime was the sexual repression of children...If the main interest of paedophiles was that children should be allowed sexual self-expression...[there] would be no need to assert that adult males would or should be the necessary beneficiaries of children's burgeoning sexuality (*ibid*, 1990:189 – 192).

A different point was made in the *Childhood Sexuality* factor. There it was argued that a separation should be made between childhood sexuality and the social prohibitions militating against adult/child sex. Thus, whilst it was accepted that in certain contexts children might legitimately express their sexuality with one other – and with adults – the fact that this activity is not legitimated in the present context should provide the ultimate referent for our views and definitions of child sexual abuse. Additionally, the

acknowledgement that adult/child sex is – or might be – condoned elsewhere must not to give license to those adults who may wish to encroach upon the child's sexuality.

Debates over the child's capacity to consent to sexual conduct was also articulated in the standpoints and definitions expressed in this chapter. This is not surprising as the issue of consent can be said to be textually bound up views on childhood sexuality and the ways in which childhood is defined. Thus in the *Feminist/Child Protectionist* account the structural inequalities between adults and children were argued to render void any notion that the child may give meaningful consent to this activity. Additionally, as was also argued in the *Feminist* and *Professional* accounts described in Chapter 4, children's consent was seen to divert attention away from abuse and from abusers. What is argued from the *Feminist/Child Protectionist* perspective was that children should be educated in ways that help them to identify unwanted sexual and other forms of bodily contacts. They are not, however, to be placed in a position where they are to say 'no' to such contacts. This is because the responsibility for protecting children from abuse ultimately resides with the adult. A précis of this approach is that children should be given the knowledge and information so that they can identify inappropriate forms of sexual conduct, without, in so doing mobilising their ability to say 'yes'.

The argument in the *Boy-Love* explanatory account, described in the previous chapter, stressed that the child's willingness to consent to sexual conduct should guide our understandings of child sexual abuse. In the *Social Constructionist/Children's Rights* factor reported here, this notion was approached through a challenge to the idea of children as a unitary and inherently dependent group who are 'always already' presumed incapable. Also challenged in this account are the ways in which children tend to be defined by and in relation to adults rather than being given a greater scope for self-determination. As was previously shown, those advocating 'boy-love' used this deployment of children's rights to specifically

argue the case that this self-determination should extend to a 'recognition' of the child's ability to choose to have sexual contacts with adults.

In the *Sexual Abuse as Paraphilia* factor explicated in the Explanations Q sort, the child's ability to consent was not seen as an issue as the emphasis there was placed upon sexual abuse arising out of the adult's need to be sexually gratified. In the standpoint adopted in the *Childhood Sexuality* factor reported in this chapter, this purported 'need' is contextualised with reference to the cultural dictates, in operation at a given time and in a given place, which regulate adult/child sexual conduct. It was further contextualised by the view that, whilst adults may treat children as sexual objects, children should be recognised as sexual beings in their own right. In the *Childhood Sexuality* factor – as with the *Sexual Abuse as Paraphilia* explanatory account – the child's ability to either give or withhold consent was seen as largely irrelevant. Instead what was at issue was the adult's behaviour and the social context within which this behaviour arises.

Reflections

As one of the participants who provided an exemplifying Q sort on the Social constructions/Children's rights factor, I feel that it is appropriate to make my own position explicit, not least because finding oneself discursively positioned alongside self-proclaimed paedophiles brings the risks of critical polytextualising child sexual abuse into sharp focus.

It is my view that ways need to be found for recognising, respecting and upholding the rights of children and young people that do not patronise them, endorse or reproduce the supreme control that adults have over their lives. This, for me, involves a responsible and serious engagement with 'who' children take themselves to be, what they like and dislike and what they want in their own terms, in all aspects of their lives. The 'needs', rights and entitlements of children should therefore not be established by the adult world without dialogue with and recourse to children themselves –especially

older children. Thus, in relation to child sexual abuse it is my view that we must avoid totally adult-centred dialogues and responses to both the problem and the problematisation of abuse. Corteen and Scraton express a similar view when they argue that:

[C]hildren's capacities are seriously underestimated and this sets up a 'self-conforming cycle'...In protecting their innocence, children's experiences and competencies are neglected with adults directing and determining their behaviour, choices, opportunities and potential. Denied independence, or the information and experience necessary to develop their emerging sexualities, children and young people are made vulnerable. (*ibid*, 1997: 99)

To say this, however, is obviously not to impugn the positive and highly necessary role that adults play in children's lives. It is also not to dismiss the fact that judgements have to be made about when a child is 'capable' of making sexual choices, for example, as this will determine not only when he/she is free to have sex with others but when others are deemed to have acted illicitly (Archard, 1993). According to Archard, such judgements are crucial 'if we are to combine an adequate protection of the child from sexual abuse with a fair and reasonable attribution of sexual freedom to all concerned' (*ibid*, 1993:75). Adults, however, should not wholly determine such judgements in my view. In saying this, I recognise that many may well see this assertion as troublesome. Gerrard (1997) points to one reason why this might be the case when she comments that, 'we love [children] while...they are charmingly playing at being adults, but when they take a few steps towards adulthood, we get scared and angry and morally censorious' (cited in Stainton Rogers and Stainton Rogers, 1999: 186). Instead of being viewed through an adult lens that focuses upon them as people-in-the-making, it is my view that children should be considered as people in the here-and-now who are entitled to rights as self-determining citizens.

Adult deliberations over and responses to the problem of child sexual abuse in my view must reflect both the manifold construals of childhood (cf. James and Prout, 1990) and children's experiences. Additionally, vocabularies of child sexual abuse must also be informed by the shaping effects and productivity of various articulations

of power, resistance and inequalities (including for example those based in 'race', ethnicity, religion, region, economic resources and physical size, strength and ability). Such articulations must not be elided with simplifying taxonomies of sexual normality/abnormality, for example, as to do so would be to decontextualise sex and place it in the sovereign position of holding the truth of our being (Foucault, 1990). It may also obscure the other ways in which children and young people may be silenced, exploited and/or harmed.

My standpoint on child sexual abuse is also framed by an engagement with gender. It is interesting to note that whilst there is a burgeoning (albeit 'underground' in some cases) literature promoting boy-love, or paedophilia more generally, (see, for example, O'Carroll, 1980; Taylor, 1981; Bernard, 1982; Middleton, 1986; Brongersma, 1988, 1991; Randall, 1992; Sandfort 1992;) a defence of 'boy' or 'girl' love has not been asserted by women. This is not to suggest that women do not have a sexual interest in children, or that they never commit acts of sexual abuse (see, for example, Allen, 1990; Wakefield and Underwager, 1991; Elliot, 1993; Saradjin, 1996) – although in my view they are less likely to do both. What it is to say, however, is that we need to further scrutinise the manifold constructions of and assumptions about gender that are enfolded in contemporary construals of child sexual abuse and their role in knowledging certain 'facts' into being (cf. Curt, 1994) in the discursive arena of child sexual abuse.

The next chapter deals with the final Q sort in this study, *Social Policies on child Sexual Abuse*. There I will consider the ways in which the beliefs about how and why child sexual happens and these standpoints and debates over how it should be defined can be used to warrant conduct of various kinds.

CHAPTER 7

SUBJECT POSITIONS AND CHILD SEXUAL ABUSE

Introduction

In this chapter I will explore how current discourses on child sexual abuse construct different subject positions for the actors involved. In it I have been selective, focussing in on just three: two alternative subject positions available to adults who engage children in sex (the 'reformed character' and the 'boy lover'); and one available to adults who, in childhood, were engaged in sex with an adult or adults (the 'survivor'). My analysis focuses on explicating the ways in which these alternative subject positions can be strategically deployed – how and why they may be adopted and negotiated, how and why they may be either accepted or resisted. In particular I will concentrate upon the ways and the circumstances in which attempts can be made to discursively re-locate or 'modify' a particular position. As the basis for this analysis I have drawn upon three main sources of discourse: the participant observations I carried out at HMP Grendon; informal interviews I conducted with an unconvicted, self-declared paedophile; and participant observation carried out with a self-help group run by people who identify themselves as 'survivors' of sexual abuse. Where relevant I have also included some material from interviews I conducted with women who were members of a self-help group for mothers of children who have been sexually abused.

The chapter is divided into four sections. Section 1 reviews the origins and importance of the notion of 'subject positions', expanding on the discussion begun in Chapter 2. Section 2 offers a reading of two subject positions available to locate adults who have had (or condoned) adult sexual contact with children. The third

section explores one of the subject positions available to locate those who have been sexually abused – ‘survivor’. Finally, in the fourth section, I will review some of the issues raised by the subject positions I have investigated.

SECTION 1: Contextualising Subject Positions

Subject Positions and the specification of individuals

In *The History of Sexuality*, Foucault (1990) argued that, via the deployment of *scientia sexualis*¹, our present day knowledge of the body and 'the truth' of its functioning and its desires have been created by multiple networks of power relations. Through these, he claimed, specific 'personages' or 'subject positions' have been brought into being. To illustrate what he meant by this claim he suggested that prior to the nineteenth-century the currently understood concept of 'the homosexual' did not exist as a specific *personage* – it was not an identity. Instead people thought only in terms of *practices* such as sodomy. In other words, prior to the nineteenth-century, homosexuality was viewed in terms of something that people *did*, not what they *were*. In this sense there were no 'homosexuals' until they were 'knowledged into being' (c.f. Curt, 1994). As Foucault put it, it was not until the nineteenth-century that 'the homosexual became a personage, a past, a case history, and a childhood, in addition to being a type of life, a life form, and a morphology' (*ibid*, 1990: 43).

In 1978 Foucault took part in a debate, together with Jean Danet and Guy Hocquenghem, to argue that *consensual* adult/child sex should be decriminalised (reported in Kritzman, 1988). In this debate Foucault argued that the hegemonic subject positions that are opened up for children locate them as having a specific or 'fragile' (cf. Bell, 1993) sexuality, a sexuality so 'fragile' that it can never be directed towards an adult. In Hocquenghem's view the implications of positioning the child in this way is that, in what he referred to as any 'erotic or sensual

¹ Foucault (1990) argued that *scientia sexualis* is a complex machinery, developed over hundreds of years of Western civilisation practices, for telling the truth about sex.

relationship between a child and adult', it so singularises and simplifies such a 'relationship' that any adults who engage in them are inevitably cast as a 'perverts' or 'monsters whose aim in life is to practice sex with children' (1988:277).

I argued in Chapter 3 that while adult sexual 'use' of children is nothing new, the creation of certain subject positions – such as 'abuser' – is relatively recent. Schultz (1982), for example, described a range of sexual practices between adults and children, some of which (e.g. boy houses of prostitution and public 'bathhouses') were seen as legitimate in their cultural and historical context and others of which were not. Yet it is clear from reading Schultz's historical treatise that whilst those individuals who were found to be contravening the codes of adult/child sexual conduct² of the time were punished and condemned, the personage of 'abuser' (in the sense we use it today) was not deployed. In those times a man might be, for example, positioned as a pederast (i.e. one who has or desires sexual relations with boys), but this did not carry the accusatory connotations that we currently attach to a man who is positioned as a 'sexual abuser'.

In this chapter I will use the term 'subject position' rather than 'personage', since this draws attention to the active discursive work going on when a certain personhood is attached to an individual. It also more strongly conveys the way in which such constructed personhoods operate as discursive personhoods-open-to-being-ascribed – *immanent* personhoods available for either (or both) self-ascription (e.g. through the claim "I am a paedophile – a person who feels erotic love towards children") or the ascription of others (e.g. through the accusation "He is a paedophile – a person who sexually exploits and abuses children").

² Schultz cites the example of Baron de Rais, protector of Joan of Arc, who was put to death for the rape and murder of 800 children.

For some, such immanent personhoods might alternatively be termed identities³. For me this is problematic. The construct of 'identity' all too easily slips into a Modernist epistemology of the self, where the self has a palpable and obdurate interior – identity – that is the fixed and unified pre or extra-discursive 'property' of individuals (cf. Chapter 1). The alternative terminology of subject positions, however, provides a discursive framework for examining the subject as constituted through a variety of modalities⁴ and by an ensemble of contingent discursive positions. The subject, so construed, is not in possession of an inner, essential core, but is created through an enfolding of the exterior (cf. Curt, 1994; Rose, 1996) and through specific and shifting forms of identification. These identifications are neither 'fixed nor exhausted by any particular form of subjectivity' (Schwartz, 1998:21) but are, in Mouffe's terms, 'the bearers of multiplicity' (*ibid*, 1992:372) that function in relation to 'regulatory ideals' (c.f. Rose, 1996: 129) which carry with them different rights, obligations and possibilities for action in relation to specific historical and cultural social arrangements (McNay, 1994; Burr, 1995).

Objectiviation and subjectivication: technologies of power and of the self

In his later work Foucault (e.g. 1988) argued that the shift from untheorised 'acts' to subject positions arises through a series of practical reasonings and technologies which create specific fields of knowledge. These he saw as providing the regulatory ideals that shape our ways of understanding ourselves and each other, as well as our enactions and existence as human beings. Commenting on Foucault's concept of technologies, Nikolas Rose states that:

³ Many climate of perturbation researchers continue to use the term identity in a textual-narrative, rather than essentialist sense (see for example Harré, 1990; Shotter and Gergen, 1989)

⁴ See McNamee, 1996, Gergen, 1996 and Turkle, 1996 for a discussion of this point.

Our very experience of ourselves as certain sorts of persons, creatures of freedom, of liberty of personal powers, of self realization, is the outcome of a range of human technologies, technologies that take modes of being human as their object (*ibid*, 1996: 132).

Foucault outlined four such technologies in his later work – technologies of production; of sign systems; of power; and of the self. The technologies of power and of the self are central to the arguments about the subject positions available in the discursive arena of child sexual abuse that I wish to explore in this Chapter, and hence will be considered in more detail.

In Foucault's view, technologies of power 'determine the conduct of individuals and submit them to certain ends of domination, an objectivization of the subject' (1988:18). The technologies of the self, he argued, 'permit individuals to effect by their own means or with the help of others certain operations on their own bodies, souls, thoughts, conduct, way of being, so as to transform themselves in order to attain a certain state of happiness, purity, wisdom, perfection or immortality' (*ibid*: 18).

Foucault (1985) suggested that a better understanding of the modern subject could be arrived at through counterbalancing an analysis of the technologies of power (objectivication) with those of the technologies of the self (subjectivication). This, he claimed, provides an analytic of the modern Western subject as situated within variegated power relations. Objectifying power-relations are both framed by, and can be juxtaposed with, the subjectifying modalities of self-constitution; that is, the ways in which individuals come to know and fashion themselves as subjects who have the power to 'define their own identity, to master their body and desires and to forge a practice of freedom' (Best and Kellner, 1991; see also Rose, 1989). Which, as Wetherell and Potter (1992) note, operates as a force from outside that works as self-discipline from within.

The inculcation of subject positions through the complimentary and counterbalancing influences of the technologies of power and the technologies of the self does not, however, take place within an a-political, a-cultural, a-historical,

context-free, social vacuum, or within the self-contained essential self. Rather, they are assumed within socio-political, cultural, historically specific discursive contexts that constitute specific fields of knowledge and experience, through the operation of truth games (cf. Henriqués *et al*, 1984; Wetherell and Potter, 1992; Schwartz, 1996).

Truth games and subject positions

The word “game” can lead you astray: when I say “game”, I mean a set of rules by which truth is produced. It is not a game in the sense of amusement; it is a set of procedures that lead to a certain result, which on the basis of its principles and rules of procedure, may be considered valid or invalid, winning or losing. (Foucault, 1994: 297).

According to this argument, truth games do not refer to the discovery of pre- or extra-discursive, ontological Truths. The ‘game’ is played according to particular rules governing the ensemble and interplay of discursive and non-discursive practices. These produce the *effects* of truth and falsity within manifold knowledge regimes⁵ and practical affairs (Schwartz, 1998) where the Truth is ‘actively and purposively knowledged into being’ (c.f. Curt, 1994: 32).

In terms of subject positions, Truth games specify what position individuals must occupy – their identifications – in order to become the legitimate objects and subjects of the Truths attested by a particular knowledge regime and cultural ideologies pertaining to ethical selfhood. This conveys with it a sense of who we are and should be; and what it is possible, and not possible, for us to do (cf. Curt, 1994; Florence, 1994; Burr, 1995).

Elsewhere in this thesis I have argued that one implication of the contemporary discursive construction of child sexual abuse is that it provides a regulatory ideal for the sexual conduct of individuals. The subject positions that are opened up and

⁵ Science and the organisation of scientific knowledge (see for example Curt 1994), Mulkay 1985, and LaTour, 1983); the law, (c.f. Smart, 1989); primatology; (c.f. Haraway, 1992) are all good examples of the workings of truth games.

the identifications that are allowable further add to this regulation by placing individuals under an obligation to construct themselves as certain kinds of people: as self-regulating, normal/moral/ethical/sexual selves.

Confession and therapeutics

The biblical tenet of 'knowing thyself' and its adjunct, 'confession', provide technologies of the self through which the promise of the normal/moral/ethical sexual self may be realised:

Each person has the duty to know who he is, that is to try to know what is happening inside him, to acknowledge his faults, to recognize temptations, to locate desires; and everyone is obliged to disclose these things either to God or to others in the community and, hence, to bear public or private witness against oneself [sic]. (Foucault, 1994:242)

[I]n fact it is in relation to sexuality that, throughout the Christian era and perhaps even earlier, all individuals have been called upon to recognize themselves as subjects of pleasure, desire, lust, temptation. And it is in relation to sexuality that they have been summoned by various practices (self examination, spiritual exercises, avowal, confession) to apply the game of truth and falsehood to themselves, to the most private and personal elements of their subjectivity (Florence, 1994: 316).

The practices of 'knowing thyself' and 'confession' date back at least as far as Christian aesthetics (Foucault, 1985; 1990; 1994). Such practices, however, are also expressed within contemporary therapeutic discursive and non-discursive practices, of which psychoanalysis, group therapy and self-help are examples.

A stated aim of much modern therapeutic discourse is to encourage the subject to identify with new – and, presumably, better – subject positions (cf. Simonds, 1996; McNamee, 1996). Confession occupies a central role in this re-location, as the evocation of the 'confessing self' purportedly reveals and brings to the surface the deep workings of the inner-self. This 'mastery' of the inner self brings with it the promise of new, preferred, re-located subject positions.

Whilst confessions are part of the technologies of the self, they are also, as Foucault has noted, saturated by the operations of the technologies of power. Referring to the confessional practices inherent in the 'art' of psychoanalysis, which presents itself as a liberatory vehicle to greater self-knowledge, awareness and realisation, Foucault argued that:

one does not confess without the presence (or virtual presence) of a partner who is not simply the interlocutor but the authority who requires the confession, prescribes and appreciates it, and intervenes in order to judge, punish, forgive, console and reconcile...(*ibid*, 1990: 61-62).

For Foucault the practice of confession enmeshes individuals in networks of power that are a more efficient means of regulation and normalisation than crude mechanisms of domination: the practice of confession produces self-surveying and self-policing subjects (cf. McNay, 1992).

The interpolation of the subject within the discursive arena of child sexual abuse implicates the tied and inseparable operations of technologies of power and the self, that are played out within the context of truth games. Technologies of power provide the conditions of possibility for the range of subject positions that are available in a given discursive arena. On the other hand, it is the technologies of the self, which provide a framework for the ascription and identification or take up of these positions.

Taking a position and being positioned

Foucault's theorising around subject positions excluded any serious analysis of 'agency'. Others have noted that individuals cannot simply choose the subject position they wish to adopt, but are 'positioned' through the objectifying and subjectifying effects of the technologies of power and the self. This point was not directly addressed by Foucault in his archaeological account of the inculcation of subject positions within discourse, and attracted much criticism as a result. Stuart Hall, for example, argued that the 'empty formalism' of Foucault's account reveals 'little about why it is that certain individuals occupy some subject positions rather

than others' (*ibid*, 1996:10). Similarly, Lois McNay suggests that without addressing how an individual comes to occupy a 'vacant' or available position, Foucault's account invites a reading of subject positions as 'a priori categories which individuals seem to occupy in an unproblematic fashion' (*ibid*, 1994: 77; see also Brown and Cousins, 1986). Whilst these criticisms were not explicitly rebutted by Foucault, his later (genealogical) work on the micro-politics and asymmetries of power relations went some way in addressing these shortcomings.

In this Chapter I will examine in some detail the ways in which particular subject positions are ascribed, taken up, actively worked upon, negotiated and resisted – the discursive positioning and re-positioning whereby individuals construct and reconstruct themselves as certain kinds of persons. The objectifying and subjectifying effects of the technologies of power and the self were apparent in all of the settings I analysed for this Chapter.

With HMP Grendon, the psycho-educational programme for sex offenders that I observed relied heavily upon individual members taking responsibility for changing themselves and each other. This, combined with the disciplinary environment of the prison, brought the operations of technologies of power and self and confessional regimes into sharp focus. Much the same was the case (albeit not within a disciplinary regime) with the self-help group for survivors of sexual abuse. Self-help groups like this are also in the business of seeking to change themselves and each other. In this context the purpose of the group was to re-locate themselves from the subject position of 'victim' to that of 'survivor'. Finally, while the context was quite different, my interview with the self-declared paedophile was also a site for the operations of technologies of power and self, in that he had actively sought contact with a researcher in the field of children's sexuality in order to challenge prevailing orthodoxy on paedophilia. He was explicitly engaged in attempting to discursively re-locate the subject position of paedophile.

SECTION 2: The subject positions available to locate adults who have had sexual contacts with children

Introduction

My analysis of the subject positions available to locate adults who have had sexual contacts with children were derived mainly from two sources:

- my participant observations of a prison-based treatment programme for men convicted of sexual assaults on children;
- four interviews conducted with 'Andrew'⁶, a self-declared paedophile who, to my knowledge, had never been subjected to scrutiny or investigation.

In both settings, albeit in very different ways, discursive work was being done to resist the subject position of 'child sexual abuser'. Each offers an alternative subject position. The treatment programme was explicitly intended to enable relocation to the subject position of 'reformed character', and Andrew had sought out the opportunity to make his case that he was a 'true' paedophile – in his terms, a 'lover of children'.

The subject position of 'reformed character'

Background to my observations at HMP Grendon

A member of staff, who was engaged in running a psycho-educational treatment programme with sexual offenders, initially invited me to Grendon Underwood

⁶ All names have been changed to protect the identity of those concerned.

Prison (usually referred to as HMP Grendon). At that time HMP Grendon was unique in that it had a specialised wing where most of the offenders were serving sentences for sexual offences against children (a small minority were serving sentences for raping adult women). All were towards the end of their sentences and were participating in the programme as part of their preparation for release. I negotiated with the programme facilitators and with the group members to observe the therapeutic sessions, and to be allowed to ask questions and seek elaboration of issues that had a direct bearing on my research. I attended six of the weekly two-hour sessions over a period of 10 months. My observations were recorded in my field notebook.

In addition, for approximately eight months following my initial observations of the psycho-educational course I kept in contact with an offender I have called 'Sean'. Sean and I would correspond and he often invited me to his wing's social evenings, which were part of the rehabilitation programme for the offenders. I attended them not in the capacity of a researcher but in order to 'give something back' to Sean and all those who had agreed to help me with my research. None of what transpired at these social events has been included in my research report – though inevitably these experiences have informed my thinking and insight.

The Psycho-Educational Programme

This consisted of a number of modules that varied in length ranging from three sessions (*Values and Decision Making*) to fifteen (*Communication and Interpersonal Relationships*). Many of the modules were paired up to run concurrently so that, for example, the *Conflict and Stress* module was paired with the *Self Esteem* module (both of which lasted for 10 sessions). The programme was constituted as group therapy, since this was thought to be the most effective means of challenging the abusive beliefs of the offenders (cf. Wyre, 1987; Mitchell, 1993; Russell, 1995). The group facilitator took a minimalist approach, introducing and framing the session, keeping it on track, occasionally challenging statements

made but more commonly enlisting the group to do this and inviting the less vocal group members to participate more fully. Although the inmates' discussions and comments were mainly directed to one another, they each sought the tacit approval of the facilitator following each conversational turn, usually through the use of eye contact and other non-verbal gestures.

The narratives that constitute the 'reformed character' subject position

From the analysis of my field notes at Grendon (see Chapter 2) it was evident that the psycho-educational programme was designed to encourage and enable group members to relocate themselves as 'reformed characters'. Via a process of confession, the programme provided them with the language, skills and rhetoric to re-form themselves – to attain the new identification with the 'reformed character'. This relocation was achieved through three main narratives:

- a) The 'inadequate abuser' narrative
- b) The 'cycle of abuse' narrative
- c) The 'distancing from abuse character' narrative

The 'inadequate abuser' narrative

This narrative deployed psychodynamic-developmental constructs around the formativity of negative childhood experiences in relation to later offences. Here the emphasis was placed upon having a 'bad childhood'. In the literature this is seen as having given rise to a 'deviant psychological state' (Finkelhor, 1986) leading to low self-esteem and feelings of inadequacy. This narrative was particularly evident during my observations of the *Conflict and Stress* and *Self-esteem* modules – which is not surprising since these were designed to explore the assumed links between stress, low self esteem, inadequacy and child sexual abuse.

In introducing the *Self-esteem* module the facilitator, reading from a handout, stated that:

A large majority of all sex offenders self-report low self esteem often.... Many recall always feeling inadequate and that they could never do anything good enough to please mum, dad, teachers, other authority figures, or "themselves". Most committed their crime while self esteem was at its lowest point.

She followed this by suggesting to the group members that their low self-esteem and sense of inadequacy will have permeated through all of their adult relationships. The module involved a series of activities designed to reveal these Truths. For example group members were asked to compare their 'ideal' and 'actual' selves and draw out the differences between them. The facilitator repeatedly highlighted the ways in which their self-perceptions fell short of their ideal. In another activity group members were required to construct 'life-lines' – pictorial accounts of significant life experiences. Here the facilitator highlighted the extent to which the men had 'had more bad experiences than good' in their lives. In another session group members were required to write about the things that they liked and disliked about themselves and each other. Sean reflected on this activity in a letter to me⁷:

My mind went blank. I didn't know what to write. It took me a good five to six minutes before I wrote one thing I liked about myself. After I had written the one good thing I liked about myself I moved onto the one I disliked about myself. This was easy, and once I begun to write it turned into a paragraph all of which is very important and things I am going to change.

Sean also commented on how he felt when the group, as part of the same activity, were asked to identify and comment upon his good points:

I was really surprised and when people were saying good things about me and embarrassed too.

Sean's response to the activity and his letter to me were both performances of low self-esteem. At the same time he also engaged in a technology of the self which

⁷ Sean gave his permission for me to reproduce the contents of this letter.

was expressed through his intention to change those aspects of himself he did not like. This technology allowed Sean to align himself with the wider truth game which required offenders to demonstrate 'signs of re-evaluation' and ultimately the potential for discursive re-location.

In another session, group members were asked think of words that summed up how they felt about their lives. Some of the words they chose were:

A loser.

Inadequate.

Impotent, sexual and in other ways.

Bottler-upper of feelings.

Lost.

Inferior.

Powerless.

Always in situations where I feel out of control.

In this session the facilitator systematically asserted that there are links between these feelings of inadequacy and the sexual abuse of children. She argued that sexual contact with a child is the way inadequate adults can resolve the stresses of their lives. Again she was drawing on a considerable literature. For example, Nicolas Groth has argued that sexual abuse has less to do with 'sexual pleasure' and more to do with 'issues surrounding competency, adequacy, worth, recognition, validation, status, affiliation and identity' (Groth, 1982: 227-8.).

The facilitator made another, more specific, link that was intertextual with the *Mainstream Professional* account (see Chapter 4) when she yoked together feelings of inadequacy to masculinity and male sexuality. She suggested that sex offenders with an 'inadequate' personality often identify with – yet feel too inept to enact – the traditional machismo role. They powerfully want to be all that a 'real man' should be. But, unable to 'perform real masculinity' with adult women, they

seek out opportunities to do so with children. Margaret Wetherell has outlined some of these performances of masculinity as: invulnerability, being 'tough, emotionally distant, assertive, aggressive, all-conquering, cool and big' (*ibid*, 1996: 323; see also Hollway, 1984). In the domain of heterosexual relating, such offenders were thus seen as 'inadequate to the task of competition with other men for heterosexual adult conquests' (Wilson and Cox 1983:122). Within this discursive domain children are viewed as substitutes for adult women. They are circumstantial rather than desired sexual objects that fulfil the inadequate offender's need to conform to the rituals of hetero-masculinity in a way that does not further accentuate their deep feelings of inadequacy.

Following one session one group member, Jack, agreed to a short interview⁸ with me about the aetiology of his offence. In this interview Jack stated that at the time of his offence he was:

...under a lot of strain... The wife had just left and I had to be mother, father and friend m' kids...I was working long hours too...the whole situation just got on top of me...It started off with me y'know getting into bed with them, y'know just for a cuddle n'that - I needed comfort too y'know...anyway I guess it sort of moved on from there.

When I asked Jack why he didn't choose to pursue this physical, emotional and sexual contact with an adult, he responded by saying that:

I just couldn't face it... What I mean is I couldn't stand it if there was some woman I liked and I picked up the courage like to ask her out for a drink n'that and she turned round all screwing her face up - like women do - telling me to get lost ... after all that happened, I couldn't stand that as well. To be honest I'd been with 'Elaine' [his wife] that long, I wouldn't know what to do... I mean, what would I say?... I couldn't stand it if I were blown out like that... It'd kill me like. Who'd want me anyway, me on my own with three kids? Who'd wanna know me anyway?

Jack took up both aspects of the child sexual abusers as inadequate narrative. He did this by firstly claiming that the abuse was the result of his inability to cope with the circumstances he found himself in. The second aspect of this narrative was reflected in Jack's anticipated failure when attempting to attract an appropriately

⁸ This interview has been reconstructed from notes taken at the time of the interview.

aged sexual partner. Within both of these elements the child is not theorised as the object of sexual desire, but is instead regarded as incidental or as a substitute for a more appropriate partner.

An alternative deployment of the child-sexual-abuser-as-inadequate narrative and children as 'substitutes' for inadequate abusers was also deployed in a number of the interviews I conducted with women participating in a self-help group for mothers whose children had been sexually abused:

They do things with children their wives wouldn't let them do. For instance oral...I never, I never liked it myself ... because you won't do it and they'll go and do it to somebody else.

My ex husband was lousy in bed. Erm I think if he got a child they can't compare. They can't turn round and say "bloody lousy that was bloody rubbish". A child can't say that 'cos that would hurt a man. You know a wife [can] say "that was absolutely rubbish". Do it to a child, a child won't turn round and say "Oh you're rubbish". And that's I think that's what it is. They feel inadequate, some part of their life has been inadequate, the child makes them feel that they can do better. You can say "You will do as I say" and a child won't answer.

It was also raised by a male participant in a group interview conducted during the earlier fieldwork stages of my research⁹:

Maybe it's the lack of success in becoming adultly sexual.... you could say immaturity or irresponsibility or something like that. You know, it's easier for somebody who's not been successful with mature sexuality to satisfy cravings by dealing with younger smaller more innocent erm subjects... I mean if people in adolescence [who] are told "no" during their experiments enough times I suppose "no" becomes their expectations so you've got to get somebody who doesn't say "no". So you go to somebody who doesn't know to say "no".

The 'cycle of abuse' narrative

Group members were routinely exposed to the 'cycle of abuse' narrative: the argument that most sex offenders have a history of emotional, physical and/or sexual abuse in childhood. It is this abuse which is viewed as the cause of their deviant behaviour. There is a vast literature setting out this position, but here I will just give just a couple of examples. Stroller (1975) has claimed that abused children grow up with the compulsion to re-enact abusive behaviours in an attempt

to gain 'symbolic mastery' over their feelings. Bentovim (1991) has argued that boys who have been sexually abused tend to identify with their aggressors, and thus mimic their behaviour (see also Chapter 4).

In all of the sessions I observed, the inmates were repeatedly encouraged to 'confess' to the abuse which took place in their childhood, and to explore the negative impact this would have had upon their later lives. A considerable proportion of each session consisted of group members giving detailed descriptions of the mistreatment to which they had been exposed in their childhood, how this made them feel, and how they believed it contributed to their own sexual abuse of children. On one such occasion Pete provided an account that was typical of those expressed on this subject. He stated that his 'awful childhood' had been physically, emotionally and sexually abusive, and gave compelling and harrowing descriptions of it. He said it had made him feel 'terrified, vulnerable, alone, and full of hate'. Pete then went on to connect how these experiences contributed to his generalised lack of empathy, which rendered his sexual offences against children 'do-able'. Pete's account of his 'bad childhood' and the role it played in such offences demonstrated his competent performance of the 'cycle of abuse' narrative.

Resistance

In contrast to other group members' competent performances of the truth games associated with the two main legitimate explanatory narratives articulated within the programme, one man, Vic, resisted them. This was evident in a particular session where Vic described what he termed as a 'fling' that he had had with an older man when he was twelve. The conversation went as follows¹⁰:

⁹ See Appendix III for details.

¹⁰ Reconstructed from field notebook.

Vic: When I was a young lad I had this sort of fling with this bloke. He must have been in his late twenties I guess. I was 12 ...basically I have to say it was okay, well I liked it quite a lot actually ...I didn't see anything wrong with it...

Facilitator: What about other people? What would they have thought about this?

Vic: Well, I suppose I was a bit worried people would think I was queer an' that if they found out, but other than that I have to say it was okay actually.... I didn't see anything wrong with it.... Well I suppose I still don't actually.... I'm no queer or anything like that. ... I know you lot won't agree with this but I really can't see that it had anything to do with what happened between me and [his stepdaughter].

Here Vic is specifically refuting the basis of the 'cycle of abuse' narrative – the legitimated assumption that any sexual contact between an adult and a child is inevitably abusive and hence inherently harmful (see O'Dell, 1998, for a more detailed exposition of this 'harm warrant'). By arguing that he 'liked it a lot actually' he was rebutting the claim that he had been harmed.

Contestation

The other group members responded to Vic's resistance by collectively challenging him in three ways. First they contested his reading of the sexual encounter. They disputed the extent to which he could have 'really enjoyed' what had happened and argued he was 'too young to understand what was happening at the time' and had been 'duped' and 'taken advantage of' by this older man. Second, they went to great lengths to convince him of the connections between this childhood experience and his later sexual offences against children. Finally they challenged the language he used to describe the sexual abuse of his stepdaughter Jane. Several members of the group asserted that his choice of words – 'what went on between me and Jane' – did not properly acknowledge the way in which he had violated her body and mind. What was left unchallenged, however, was the way in which Vic chose to explore the impact of this sexual contact with an adult upon his sexual identifications and, in particular, his use of the word 'queer' and rejection of homosexuality.

Vic resisted the groups' attempts at discursive re-location until the closing stages of the session, when he finally acquiesced to the truth game, stating as he did so that:

Yeah, I suppose when you look at it that way you lot do have a point, I hadn't really thought about it like that before.

By stating that he quite liked, and in fact didn't see anything wrong with, his childhood experience of sex with an adult, Vic implied consensuality. Consensuality, as a construct, is highly problematic in the narratives operating in the sessions. It was explicitly viewed (by both the facilitator and the group members) as providing a means by which sexual offenders can avoid taking responsibility, or could share at least some of the responsibility for the abuse with their victims. Group members were repeatedly told that 'children never consent to sex' in much the same way that 'women don't asked to be raped'. The facilitators also argued that sexual offenders regularly 'use this as an excuse to condone their abusive behaviour'.

The 'distancing from abuse' narrative.

The first two narratives provided group members with different (but often complementary) explanations for why they had become sexual abusers. To gain the new subject position of 'reformed character' a further step had to be taken – they had to acknowledge the wrongfulness of their abuse, and demonstrate that they had gained sufficient insight to become self-monitoring. I observed this in one 'brainstorming' activity where group members were required to come up with words that described child sexual abuse. Some of the responses I recorded were:

A violation.

Degradation of the child's rights.

Imposing your will on someone.

Power over ones victim.

Taking something without consent.

Humiliation.

One group member, Mick, elaborated by saying that:

Sexual abuse is a totally inhuman act, devastating and unnatural, repulsive. I'm really stuck for words to describe it... I can't find one 'cos it's a horrific offence and to put anyone through this is sadistic, just horrifying, I just can't seem to find a word to describe this kind of offence. I can't believe it was me that did those things.

The narrative device of distancing themselves from the abuse that they had committed required an engagement with the objectifying, subjectifying, and other of the various Truth producing complexes that were in operation in the psycho-education programme at Grendon. Sean, in the following confession to the group, provided an example of his engagement with the truth game:

I've been having problems dealing with empathy for my victims. I can sort of think and imagine how they must have felt and what they went through and how they might be dealing with what happened to them. For me though that's only one third of the way, I need to feel that I truly know how they feel, what they went through, maybe I will be able to get closer to my own feelings as this course goes on and as I get deeper into my therapy. This is all very worrying for me.

Sean's account distanced himself from his previous abusive self by displaying an ethical concern for his 'victims'. He further engaged in the truth game by signalling his intent to immerse himself into the therapeutic process in order to gain a 'deep understanding' of his own, and his victims', feelings in relation to his previous abusive conduct. Sean also indicated that he was now a self-policing subject. His comment suggested that he wanted to pursue this deeper knowledge, not because he had to, but because he 'truly' wanted to change. His submission to the entwined configurations of the power/knowledge network of therapy/technologies of power/technologies of the self and the practice of confession were a means by which Sean, and the other inmates, could demonstrate a process of discursive re-location away from their aberrant pasts to an identification with more ethical futures.

The acquisition of the 'reformed character' subject position

The structure of the programme, and the disciplinary environment of Grendon in which it was delivered created the conditions for a shift from a dysfunctional subject position – a 'child sexual abuser' – to a new, more functional one – the 'reformed character'. The inmates were required to re-locate from their aberrant pasts in order to take up a preferred, ethical subject position. To this end they were subjected to a series of normalising judgements and procedures of various kinds from both the programme facilitators and each other. The idea here was not to produce docile conforming bodies (c.f. Foucault, 1979) but *self-governing* citizens (Foucault, 1988) who would take steps to manage their conduct following release from prison.

The two explanatory narratives were pivotal to the truth game deployed at Grendon as they had, implicated within them, the possibility of change. The reasons why sexual abuse occurred were theorised as mobile and hence able to be re-located. Successful re-location relied not just upon the adoption of a new 'character' but also upon teaching group members new, non-sexualised, ways of resolving stress along with the ways in which they might be enabled to better relate to adult women.

This was not just evident in the articulations of the explanatory narratives, but also in the group's challenge to the resistance offered by Vic. For the 'reformed character' subject position to be tenable, group members needed to deny any sexual desire for children as objects-of-desire in themselves. Any sexual attraction to children carries with it an assumption of fixed or immobile identifications, as this desire is seen to be an essential property of the individual's sexuality and personhood¹¹. By introducing the very possibility of a 'consenting child', even self-

¹¹ Groth and Birbaum, 1978 draw a distinction between regressed offenders who abuse as a result of the circumstances they find themselves in and fixated offenders who have an enduring sexual interest in children. They argue that only regressed offenders can be 'treated'.

referentially, Vic demonstrated that he had failed to acquiesce to the required narrative connection between being 'sexually abused' and his later abusive conduct. In claiming that children may enjoy some forms of adult-child sex, he was, in effect resisting the 'Truth' that all adult/child sexual contacts are abusive. Vic neither entered into the expected truth game nor did he align himself with its associated technologies of power and the self. The conditions for the performance of self-mastery were not met. And so until he acquiesced to the challenge posed by other group members Vic remained located in the subject position of 'child sexual abuser'. Although Vic did eventually submit to the Truth game, this re-positioning came across as merely strategic on his part.

The negotiations that took place within this session had numerous outcomes. Whilst the programme had the ostensible aim of discursively re-locating individuals to a preferred subject position, the players themselves were motivated to enter into the game not only (or even necessarily) to understand and change themselves, but in order to secure an early release from prison. This early release was contingent, in many cases, upon the adequate performance of such change.

The group's response to Vic's initial resistance to the game of truth was a collective performance of self-mastery. At the same time as urging him to re-formulate his reading, the other group members were demonstrating competent performance as persons who regard adult/child sex as 'unthinkable'— damaging under any circumstance, even when the child claimed to have 'enjoyed it'. Their re-formulation of Vic's 'confessional' was at least as much about demonstrating that they themselves were thus 'reformed characters' who had re-located to a preferred subject position and (and in so doing had gained the capacity to police themselves and others) as it was about helping Vic to change.

What we can see going on here is an exposition of the expectations of the group therapeutic process. It is intended to provide opportunities to use group dynamics to re-form – oneself and each other (c.f. Wyre, 1987; Mitchell, 1993; Russell, 1995). This relay of input and feedback is argued to be a more effective route to the confessionals that are prerequisite for self-modification and change, as Russell notes:

The reinforcement of honesty and challenge to dissimulation provided by group members and leaders is likely to result in levels of self-disclosure, self-examination, and self-confrontation not previously experienced (*ibid*, 1995:46).

The scope of the psycho-educational programme extended far beyond providing the inmates with a 'deep understanding' of themselves in relation to their sexually abusive behaviour. The programme, in one way or another, touched upon all aspects of the inmates' selves and their conduct in relation to other selves. The inmates were, through the therapy, being equipped with the requisite knowledge and skills in order that they henceforth managed their interactions and relationships with children and women in a way that respected their (i.e. women and children's) emotional and bodily integrity. Concurrently, the offenders on the programme were taught the more general skills needed for becoming socially aware, self-governing citizens (i.e. skills of empathy, reflection, assertion-without-aggression and self-awareness for example). The inmates were also required to show evidence that this newly acquired knowledge, and its attendant skills, had brought about a mastery of their sexually abusive selves, which would result in a permanent principle of ethical identification and action following their release from prison. Through this and a network of other strategies¹² the institutional and regulatory power of the facilitator, as the embodiment of normalizing judgement, was continually reaffirmed

¹² Some examples of these strategies included facilitators frequently opening sessions by reminding the inmates of their wrong-doings and the reasons why they were there. Facilitators would also tell the inmates what was known about 'them' through recourse to academic literature sources (usually of North American origin). Other strategies included the use of facial gestures to signal that an inappropriate comment had been made that should be challenged by other group members.

The production of such self-governing citizens, however, needs to be seen in the context of the truth games that were being played. It is feasible that the signs of discursive re-location that the inmates displayed were at least as much about an identification with a preferred subject position as they were about a strategic engagement with the rules of the game, where competent players would be seen in a more favourable light when being considered for release on license. The normalising judgements in operation in the truth games and the objectifying and subjectifying practices that I observed re-produced hetero-masculinity and 'heteropatriarchy' (c.f. Kitzinger and Perkins, 1992) in a number of ways. For example, the highly gendered view that men who have been abused in childhood go on to become abusers deploys what Louise Armstrong calls a 'quasi-biological determinism' (1996: 98) that ultimately limits the extent to which the abuser can be held culpable for their own conduct by eliding the abuser's power over their victim. Although the inmates were required to take responsibility for their own actions in relation to the abuse, this was always offset by their presumed previous experiences of abuse and the deviant psychological state that this had engendered.

The programme thus both deconstructed and reproduced hetero-masculinity. Inmates were told how to feminise their masculinity, through being more intimate in their friendships with men and their sexual relationships with women. Additionally, they were told that they 'would be no less of a man' if they cried and generally shared their emotions with others. Among the topics covered in the *Understanding Sexuality* module were 'heterosexual attraction' and the 'physiology of reproductive sex'. Here gender typical roles were explored and reinforced whilst same-sex relationships were largely overlooked. In effect, the inmates at Grendon were being taught how to be 'new (heterosexual) men'.

The subject position of 'true' paedophilia

My analysis of the subject position that is available to locate paedophiles as 'child lovers' rather than 'child abusers' is derived from a series of four interviews conducted with 'Andrew' who is a self-declared, unconvicted paedophile. Andrew, who openly described himself as a paedophile, has written a number of articles (using various assumed names) and was a member of the (now defunct) Paedophile Information Exchange in this country.

Making contact with Andrew

Andrew described himself as being a 'true' paedophile who was solely attracted to boys. He claimed that his attraction to children is legitimated by the philosophy of Greek Love, Boy-Love, or Man-Boy Love¹³. His preferred term, however, was Boy-Love. 'True' paedophiles, in his view, are a 'little understood and grossly misrepresented' people who have 'few opportunities to speak for themselves' [interview 2]. He also argued that many of those calling themselves 'true' paedophiles (himself included) never get the opportunity to form relationships with their 'preferred love objects' (i.e. children) due to the hostile attitudes of an 'uncaring and bigoted society'. Andrew's stated agenda in speaking out about paedophilia was 'to set the record straight'. It was with this in mind that he first approached a male colleague of mine who was researching the role of the father in child development¹⁴.

Andrew's involvement in this research (and the other unconvicted paedophiles he recruited to take part in the Q methodological studies) was negotiated on the basis that I was interested to hear his beliefs about adult/child sex, but that, ethically, I

¹³ See Chapter 4 for a more detailed explication of this position.

¹⁴ At the time of approaching my colleague Andrew had also contacted National newspapers, periodicals, and radio stations in order to put his views across.

could not talk with him about his conduct in this regard. Andrew and his associates were informed that if they said anything which led me to believe that they had had, intended to have, or were having sexual contacts with any child that I would be ethically bound to immediately report this information to a contact I had at New Scotland Yard (a Chief Superintendent in the Vice Squad).

I met with Andrew on four occasions. On the first three we discussed his general beliefs about adult/child sexual contact. In our fourth meeting Andrew completed a Q-sort whilst, at the same time, providing me with a verbal account of the rationale behind his positioning of the items¹⁵. As Andrew was reluctant to have any of our conversations tape-recorded, what he said during our meetings has been reconstructed from the detailed notes I took at the time.

The narratives that constitute the 'child lover' subject position

Throughout our meetings, Andrew argued that, under certain conditions, adult/child sex should be allowable. In so doing, he attempted to discursively relocate paedophiles from the subject position of 'child sexual abusers' to that of a legitimate sexual orientation – 'child lover'. This, he claimed, is the 'true' meaning of paedophile – one who has 'affectionate and consensual sexual love for children' [interview 1] and is therefore not an abuser of children. As with the 'reformed character', this subject position was also woven out of a number of interconnected narratives. Here I will concentrate on four:

- The 'sexual orientation' narrative
- The 'children can consent' narrative
- The 'acknowledging children's sexuality' narrative

¹⁵ See Chapters 4-6.

- The 'adult mentor' narrative

The 'sexual orientation' narrative

Andrew repeatedly argued that 'true' paedophilia is a legitimate sexual orientation. This he did through a series of comparisons to other forms of sexuality. In one such comparison he argued that paedophiles should not be automatically be seen as sexual abusers simply by virtue of their sexual orientation, any more than it is reasonable to view heterosexual men as 'rapists' simply by virtue of their heterosexuality¹⁶:

Paedophiles are as shocked ...[and] morally outraged as the next person at the thought of children being raped or maimed or even killed by these vile men ... sexual abusers. But this has about as much to do with true paedophilia as the rape of women has to do with the fact that their rapists happens to be heterosexual men. I mean you wouldn't say that a man raped a woman because he's heterosexual would you? That would be ludicrous. What you would do is find out why they have acted in that way, not blame the fact that he is heterosexual.

Here Andrew rejected totalising accounts of predatory male (hetero) sexuality and its implications for regulating the conduct of children and women. His argument was that neither the sexuality of the men concerned, nor their institutionalised dominance, should be held responsible for what are, essentially, individually motivated acts of sexual violence. Indeed, he argued that heterosexual men who either lived in, or had access to a family set-up, 'posed a far greater threat to children in terms of abuse than is the case with paedophiles'. This point was also made in a more gendered way by Brongersma, himself an avid proponent of 'true' paedophilia, when he argued that:

[I]t is hardly coincidental that violence in sexual contacts between men and boys is quite exceptional, while it is a frequent occurrence in sexual acts between men and girls' (*ibid*, 1991:152).

¹⁶ Feminist have long since drawn links between male sexuality and sexual violence against women and children (see for example Browmiller, 1975; Kelly; 1988; Jefferys; 1990)

In another comparison to other forms of sexuality, Andrew likened the attempts by 'true' paedophiles to gain understanding to gay struggles against homophobia:

It was not so long ago that people felt the same about the idea of men loving men ...as they do about adults loving children today. ... That has changed thanks to all their campaigning. Imagine what their lives would be like today if they didn't have the courage to stand up and fight for what was right. You know, paedophilia was once seen as an honourable practice. I can see a day soon [when] people will come to their senses and see it as such again. [Interview 2]

Through this identification with the gay lobby Andrew constructed 'true' paedophiles as an oppressed and stigmatised sexual minority, in legitimate pursuit of their rights to be sexual with their chosen love objects.

The 'children can consent' narrative

Central to Andrew's argument that paedophilia is a legitimate sexual orientation is his assertion that children actively consent to sexual activity with 'true' paedophiles:

The bad name that Paedophilia has in this country is due to what I call the ignorant moral majority. It's about all those do-gooders otherwise known as the *Great British Public* and our so-called Great British legal system. People are just too quick to jump in and say that a child is being abused. Then they condemn all paedophiles without checking the facts first. Simply clueless! They're so quick to cry "child sexual abuse" but they never take the time to establish the facts. If they were to simply ask children they'd see that very often these are benevolent and very private affairs – no different to adult affairs I might add.... Social workers say they care about children, but really all they want is to stop them enjoying themselves. I can assure you that children enjoy being with adults – they wouldn't agree to it otherwise. But they [Social Workers etc.] don't really care enough about children to understand their point of view. [Interview 3].

Over the course of our conversations, Andrew regularly used the terms 'consent', 'benevolent affairs' and 'affection' to describe 'true' paedophilic relationships with children. And even further, Andrew argued that it is a question of the *child's* sexual rights:

This society is one that is quick to tell us that *all* relationships between adults and children are wrong simply because they are from different generations. It simply does not accept that children have the right to form loving relationships with whom so ever they please. [Interview 1]

The 'acknowledging children's sexuality' narrative

Andrew refuted the idea that all forms of adult/child sex are abusive through a strategic deployment of the subject position of the consenting and sexually autonomous child. Benevolent affairs, affection and the other benign terms that Andrew used to describe the sexualised relationships between 'true' paedophiles and children were deployed as linguistic performatives of 'true' paedophilia being no different to other forms of consenting adult-adult sexual relationships. 'True' paedophiles, according to this view, are the loving partners of sexually receptive children. Implicit within these performatives is the notion that the child is treated as an equal and is not only not harmed by these 'affairs', but positively enjoys them:

The fact is that many adults and children are sexually attracted to one another. It's a two-way thing. No one who is being completely honest with himself can deny it. Also let me say this, true paedophiles would never dream of hurting a child or using any kind of pressure or force, or anything like that. Good Lord, they don't hate children for goodness sake they love them.... Why can't people accept that these feelings are mutual, is it so hard to believe? ... The child wants these things to happen. ... A paedophile would never do anything that a child didn't want. Let's face it they've [the children] probably already done the same sorts of thing with other children. So where's the harm in that?

Andrew's account purposefully depicts an idealised version of adult/adult sexual relationships, with an assumed backdrop of mutuality and an equal access to power. In a sentiment antithetical to the feminist slogan 'the personal is the political', Andrew also described adult/adult and adult/child sexual relationships as being essentially *private* affairs. This idealised and simplified depiction of sexual relationships, when applied to adults and children, positions 'true' paedophiles as innocuous at the same time as obscuring the material and discursive operations of their adult power. Andrew's investment in the concept of privacy, when read outside of a liberal discourse of human rights, further obscures these operations of adult power in a way that could be used to conceal acts of abuse.

In a further attempt to subvert the regulatory gaze governing adult/child sexual conduct, Andrew argued that much of what passes for child sexual abuse amounts

to a misconstrual of this activity. For him, this misconception has its basis in a resistance to the idea that children are both capable of consenting to sex and are sexually autonomous. His comment that children are sexually agentic aims to counter the hegemonic view of childhood as a period of sexual innocence. In an elaboration of this point, Andrew claimed that adults tend to construct children in ways that are consistent with their own perceptions of what childhood should be like: desexualised and powerless.

Within this argument 'true' paedophiles respond to what children are *really* like. Andrew reasoned that paedophilia is generally seen as wrong because it poses a threat to the sexually innocent child and because children are seen to be harmed by such encounters. According to Andrew, the vilification of 'true' paedophiles needs to be understood in the context where there is an opposition to the idea that children should be provided with the opportunity to exercise their human rights as 'sexual beings and as 'equals' in relationships with adults.

This argument is frequently to be found on writings on 'Boy-Love'. In these texts children are construed as having 'sexual needs' that are often suppressed or denied. These needs are seen as requiring an outlet, as well as practise and rehearsal to ensure that the child develops into a 'sexually normal' adult:

Our species exhibits the most powerful sex drive and the most indefatigable sexual capacity of any animal species on earth. Whether it is repressed, restricted, permitted, or supported, the existence of important sexual needs in childhood and adolescence cannot reasonably be denied (Currier, 1981:18)

When young monkeys are prevented from engaging in sexual rehearsal play with one another during the early period of their life they fail to develop into sexually normal adults (Randall, 1992:12)

The 'adult mentor' narrative

This narrative, usually termed 'Boy-Love' by its proponents, draws explicitly on a telling of history from the Greeks. It paints the paedophile as a 'guide-philosopher-friend and counsellor' (Eglington, 1971: 11) who navigates the child through the sexual and non-sexual pitfalls encountered during their transition to adulthood.

Brongersma, imparts a particularly wholesomely desexualised, boys-club scenario of man-boy bonding:

Together man and boy go to the movies, theatre, museum, exhibitions, and the zoo, carnivals. They camp, swim, fish, snail, make bicycle and boat trips. At home they romp and rough-house together; there is backgammon, chess, music, television, woodworking, photography, reading, drawing, stamp collecting. And then there is homework. In short, they do what a boy likes to do; the man talks with him about personal and social problems (*ibid*, 1991:168)

The basic thesis of the 'adult mentor' narrative is that a (boy) child's emotional and sexual maturity are enhanced by being involved with adults, as the 'older, wiser and more experienced' [Interview 4] man is in a position to prepare the child for the pressures and demands of the adult world. Eglington (1971) goes as far as to suggest that an older man's relationship with a younger boy is a force for good both for the child and for society, since man/boy *relationships* reduce the potential for alienation and delinquency.

It is this view that formed the backdrop to the subject position opened up by Andrew. According to him, children, through man/boy relationships, learn about loving relationships and the techniques of sex. Children are liberated from childhood by being treated as equals within the benevolent attention of their adult partner(s). In short, the adult helps the child to develop himself:

The simple fact of the matter ...[is that] the young always learn from the old. ... Boys stand to learn a tremendous amount from having a relationship with a loving, caring, trustworthy adult. ... Your lot simply can't stand to hear that, so you create a smoke screen that has everyone running scared. [Interview 1].

Unlike Brongersma's desexualised depiction of the adult mentor, Andrew stated that sexual contact with adults in childhood trains and equips the child with the skills needed to ensure a 'vigorous and productive' adult sex life. The child, so initiated, avoids sexual ignorance and incompetence in later life (see also O'Carroll, 1980).

As if to allay homophobia concerns that the child partners of 'boy-lovers' would grow up to be gay, Andrew repeatedly stressed that the sexual rehearsal offered

by the adult helps the child with them to be more 'loving' in their later 'heterosexual lives' (see also O'Carroll, 1980). Thus, in a move that strategically distanced Boy-Love from homosexuality, he argued that:

The situation is just like the tutor-boy practices of Ancient Greece. These boys learn to be men. ... They learn about life. ... If they do turn out to be homosexual – and only a tiny minority do – this is entirely of their own volition. They are as they are. It's not because they have been involved with a paedophile. ... It has nothing to do with some silly notion that have been corrupted.

Positioning the paedophile as 'child lover'

Through these narratives the adult is positioned as benign and altruistic – a person who provides a 'safe' outlet for the child's sexual needs, a source of education (helping him to develop sexual expertise) and a mentor and friend, especially to boys who are emotionally needy:

What you must ask yourself is why these boys feel the need to go to adults in the first place? And I'm not just referring to the obvious. They go because they'll get the kind of attention and affection that your lot seem hell-bent on denying them. ... So you see we have a situation ...[where] the very people who are so quick to condemn these ...loving friendships are the ones who can't offer anything in its place – the situation is simply insane!!

Over a number of our conversations, Andrew claimed that children should be liberated from the social constraints that prevent them from expressing their sexuality in whatever way they choose. Which is, ostensibly, an appeal against the undue regulation of childhood. As I argued earlier in Chapter 5, these claims to be acting in the child's interest can equally be read as self-serving and having little to do with the liberation of childhood *per se*. They may well have more to do with establishing a legitimised way in which sexual access to children may be gained. The subject position adopted by paedophiles like Andrew have been subjected to strenuous challenge, for failing to acknowledge the socially mediated power that adults have over children, and men, in particular, hold under hetero-patriarchal cultural formations (cf. Brownmiller, 1975; Connell, 1987; Kelly, 1988b; Bartky, 1990; Kitzinger and Perkins, 1993).

SECTION 3: The subject positions available to locate people who as children, have had sexual contact with an adult.

Introduction

The subject position that I explore in this section is that of the 'survivor' of sexual abuse. It was identified during my observations of a self-help group run for survivors of sexual abuse. The establishment of self-help groups is part of the self-help and recovery movements that have recently become established in the West, particularly in the US (cf. Plummer, 1995; Perini and Bayer, 1996; Simonds, 1996). The aim of self-help is recovery. This is achieved through gaining insight and mutual support from others in a similar situation, in order to transform a 'damaged' self into a strong and better one. Advocates of self-help groups for adults who were sexually abused in childhood argue that they provide a setting where women (and sometimes men) can talk about, and make sense of, their lived experience of abuse outside of formal therapeutic and clinical domains. It is also argued to be a place where people can develop their own abilities and skills without relying on the 'higher status' of professionals or experts (Chaplin and Noack, 1988).

The Survivor Discourse

The term 'survivor' has been coined by feminist activists, practitioners and scholars (e.g. Armstrong, 1976, Ward, 1984) to make a statement about the life-threatening severity of men's sexual violence against women and children. The term is usually deployed within a critique of the hetero-patriarchal institutions of power that enable abuse. But it is also adopted to denote the resilience of the person who has been abused (cf. Wolf, 1993). Implicit within the term 'survivor' is a unity with other survivors, as Hall and Lloyd demonstrate:

she can identify with other incest survivors, sharing elements of a common past, a common language, and a common wish for change; it emphasizes the inner personal resources that she has used to survive (*ibid*, 1989: 5)

The discursive location of 'survivor' is rooted in the notion of identity politics, or, as Sampson puts it:

a politics based on the particular life experiences of people who seek to be in control of their own identities and subjectivities and who claim that socially dominant groups have denied them this opportunity' (*ibid*, 1993:1219).

It was against this backdrop that my observations with a self-help group for survivors of child sexual abuse took place.

Background to my observations of the self-help group

I made contact with the facilitator of the self-help group at a workshop for survivors of child sexual abuse. In return for contributing practical support to the self-help group, the group in turn agreed that I could listen to and, participate in, their discussions¹⁷. Throughout the course of my observations I identified and clarified my understanding of what was being said was not too divergent from the ways in which members of the group wanted to be understood. It also provided me with the opportunity to explicitly state, and gain feedback on, what I intended to use for my research. My observations of the self-help group took place on a weekly basis for a period of one year¹⁸.

• OptionButton1

The group I observed was committed to the project of personal change. In light of this two subject positions were pivotal: the *victim of child sexual abuse* and the *political survivor*. The aim of individual members of the group was to re-locate

¹⁷ This participation would often involve making personal disclosures about myself.

¹⁸ Four members of the groups agreed to participate in the Q-methodological studies reported in Chapters 4 to 6.

from the subject position of *powerless victim* to the preferred subject position of *powerful survivor*. This re-location was approached, in common with other self-help groups for survivors of sexual abuse, through a fusion of feminist-informed understandings of child sexual abuse and a reformulation of the Twelve Step principles of recovery from addiction first used by Alcoholics Anonymous¹⁹.

The group was, in principle at least, run along collectivist, egalitarian principles, where power relations amongst group members were intended to be equal. Although no one assumed the role of 'therapist' there was, however, a facilitator. Facilitators, according to Chaplin and Noack (1988), play a vital role in self-help groups as they both provide a focus and perform a nurturing role. A self-help group that is run without a facilitator, they argue, runs the risk of the 'tyranny of structurelessness'.

The subject position of victim

The subject position victim of child sexual abuse was extensively explored in the group. The women spoke about the various ways in which they had been victimised by abuse and how it had affected their later lives and relationships. There were three main narratives here:

- the devastating effects of the abuse
- self-blame and its resistance
- the need for healing

For both they drew heavily on Ellen Bass and Laura Davis' widely used text on how to survive sexual abuse, *The Courage to Heal*.

¹⁹ See for example the Hazelden Foundation, 1987.

The devastating effects of the abuse narrative

In relation to the after-effects of abuse, Bass and Davis argue that:

The long-term effects of child sexual abuse... permeate everything: your sense of self, your intimate relationships, your sexuality, your parenting, your work life, even your sanity. Everywhere you look, you see its effects. (*ibid*, 1997:33-4)

The women devoted considerable time to 'telling their stories'. Their accounts of the abuse and its impact very much mirrored Bass and Davis' claim that its effects were so devastating that they profoundly affected their lives and their very identities. As one group member put it 'being sexually abused creates shock-waves that wreak havoc in your life for years and years and years'. This theme is illustrated by the following three extracts:

When he fucked me he fucked up every part of my life. I always feel as though I'm waiting to fuck-up or to be fucked-over by someone. Men don't stick around long enough to care about me. ...I usually feel – when I'm gonna have sex – I usually feel that I'm sort of giving in to it. I just can't get into it, y'know. I met this really nice guy called Tim once. Whenever we tried to do it I'd see *his* face [her abuser's] not Tim's. Needless to say Tim was off like a bullet. Can't blame him really. It's just that it kept coming back to me all the time and I guess I made it so as Tim couldn't handle it. (Haley)

When I read about abuse in the paper or something, I can't stop crying. Something inside just snaps. ...I get so angry and depressed all the time. I've even thought really seriously about ending it all, but I couldn't go through with it in the end. I was too much of a chicken. ... I'm always asking myself why me? I know from being here [in the group] that in a way that's the wrong question to ask ...but I still find myself doing it. I just want to know ...*why did he do that to me*. I just wish I knew, that's all (Anne).

I have been trying to deal with the abuse for years and years. I've seen off countless therapists, burnt-out loads of friends. I've lost touch with my family because they all think I'm mad. ... Maybe I am, I mean I haven't been through some of the stuff that many of you talk about, so why is it affecting me so badly? Maybe I was always mad and this has just made it worse. ... I've been trying, though, trying really hard to deal with all the anxiety ... the panic attacks are the worst, claustrophobia, depression, eating disorders. You name it – I've got it! (Gayle)

The women clearly attributed the responsibility for the things that had gone wrong in their lives as being related to the abuse. Hayley blamed it for her lack of success in relationships. Anne saw it as the reason for her depression and suicidal thoughts. Gayle acknowledges that she may always have been 'mad', but says the abuse made it worse.

Resistance to self-blame

As these extracts show, the women were often ambivalent about attributing blame and responsibility for their problems. On a number of occasions group members said that when the abuse was going on, they felt as though they had somehow 'asked for it'. Indeed some spoke of their abuser explicitly telling them this. But whenever these feelings were expressed, other members of the group challenged them. First, there was a very clear conviction that it was the *abuse* that was responsible for the problems they faced. Second, strenuous statements were made to deny that victims should feel any blame. The responsibility for the abuse was squarely placed with the abuser. He was also blamed for the feelings and experiences that were the aftermath following the abuse.

The need for healing

The final narrative operating around the 'victim' subject-position operated around two main propositions:

- that victims of sexual abuse *need* to be able to 'heal' if they are to get on with their lives and regain their personal integrity and self-worth;
- that healing is only possible through making changes in thinking (sometimes referred to as 'cognitive restructuring').

Bass and Davis specifically argue that 'you can not heal until you acknowledge the areas that need healing' (1997:33-4). During my observations it was often explicitly stated that in order to heal, group members had to acknowledge that the abuse, and not something inherently to do with them, lay at the root of their problems. In a number of sessions the group collectively re-worked accounts of abuse, clarifying, specifying and creating links between all aspects of a group member's life, thoughts, feelings and behaviour to the abuse they had experienced. For example:

I've only just started to get memories. ... Since being here, bit by bit things are making much more sense. ... It feels like before now my life's been a bit like a jigsaw with loads of pieces missing ... it's all falling into place now. ... I've always wondered why little things used to really get to me. ... Some smells used to do it, some really used to freak me out. There's a shampoo that really smells like that coaltar soap everyone used to use. That really gets to me. ... Its really interesting listening to what you said [another member of the group] 'cos it's made me think 'that's it!' – y'know, a bit like a light bulb. He always used to really smell of that stuff. ...I never really made that connection before you said about that stuff what happened to you last week. (Jacqueline)

It was this narrative which provided the warrant for the shift in subject position which was the main aim of the group – a shift from 'victim' to 'survivor'. Moreover, the need-to-heal motif was intertwined with one of how-to-heal – a deliberate and systematic 'change of heart and mind' through which group members can come to see the abuse and its effects from a radically new perspective, and in so doing, literally re-create themselves as *different* people.

The subject position of 'survivor'

When taking up subject positions within the discursive arena of surviving, rather than being a victim of abuse, members of the group sought to position themselves as survivors – women who could recognise and understand the ways in which the abuse had affected their lives, but who either aimed to be, or who were, no longer physically or emotionally powerless in relation to it (cf. Hall and Lloyd, 1989).

The survivor of sexual abuse discursive location was also constituted through a variety of narratives. All conveyed an intentional, powerful and purposive alternative to the *victim* subject position. These included:

- The 'finding the benefits' narrative
- The feminist politics narrative

The 'finding the benefits' narrative

Many of the group members who took up the preferred subject positions associated with being survivors of sexual abuse recast their experiences of abuse

in more positive terms. They sought out potential *benefits* of surviving the abuse. They explored, for example, the possibility that being abused had developed their social skills and powers of intuition. They asserted – for themselves and for each other – that they had obtained powers, skills and high overall levels of achievement that, had they not been abused, would not have been obtained. Many of the group members, over time, re-fashioned the accounts they gave of their experiences of abuse so as to align themselves with survivor, rather than victim, discourses. Sandra and Dawn provide examples of this discursive work:

Now I'm so sensitive to other people's needs, their moods as well I suppose. I can just feel when there's something going on that someone doesn't want to talk about. I reckon being a survivor does that to you... it makes you more in touch with other people, you get "vibes". I guess you kind of know what's really going on (Sandra)

I've always felt the need to be in control – on the outside at least. I'm the kind of person you would've hated at school I just had to be the best at everything. Even now, you know, my house is spotless – even in the places no one ever sees! I'm like that with my work as well. ... Although I think it's really helped me out there as I'm so super organised. ... I guess what people don't see is that even the thought of being out of control terrifies me. ... It makes me remember all those times when I had no control over anything. ...I won't let my self feel like that again (Dawn).

The feminist politics narrative

Within the group, the 'survivor' subject position was frequently aligned specifically with feminist scholarship, practise and activism. It was deployed as a *political* performative for taking action against sexual violence/abuse. This is well illustrated by the writings of the radical feminist Rosia Champagne:

A survivor of incest is someone who has been molested or raped ...who lives through and remembers the experience, and who comes to understand – through therapy or feminism or some combination of the two – how the experience of childhood sexual violence is "political" (*ibid*, 1996: 11).

For Champagne, *not* speaking out about abuse provides a hiding place, or *closet* for heteropatriarchal processes to operate unchallenged and unabated. Her argument is that the survivor and queer subject share a complex and complicated sense of self and subjectivity. Through moving specific elements of their lives 'in and out of the closet' (*ibid*: 6) with a 'strategic eye on audience and impact' (*ibid*:

6), operations within the discursive arena of surviving abuse can thereby be construed not only as a site for dealing with the long-term effects, but also as a launch-pad for feminist informed interventions into heteropatriarchy.

The *political* survivor narrative was opened up over a number of the group discussions. The emphasis in these discussions moved away from individual accounts of abuse, to the way in which interventions into the discursive arena of child sexual abuse may be effected. The facilitator of the group was very vocal in this respect:

I'm really interested in talking to other survivors. ... We all need to get together and do something. We can make a difference if we work at it together. ...We must stop other children from going through what we did. ... They need help, and abusers need to be stopped. ...I can understand why so many survivors want to stay silent about the abuse. I can't blame them. There's such a lot of stigma even now. ... The problem is, if we don't speak out about it ... if we stay silent we become our own worse enemies – we're so much stronger together, we can't be brushed aside so easily. ...If we don't stand together we cut ourselves off from other survivors. ...We need to stand up and say *you* did it. ...We're here, we're not going away.

Anita demonstrated the way in which the *victim of sexual abuse* subject position was taken up and reformulated in the *political survivor* subject position:

He fucked up my mind when he was fucking my body. Right now I'll be fucked if I let him fuck up my spirit as well. ... These men are evil ...cowards ... They can get away with it because we don't say anything. ... We just take it and take it, and because of that they can just go from one child to the next. It's all very well us being here, but it's still all secret, we meet here at night ...nobody sees us ... we use the side door. ...Nobody knows why we're here, we could be learning flower arranging for all anyone knows. Yeah and we might feel better when we go home because we've talked about what's been bothering us – and that's really helpful and everything – but what really gets to me is whose life is he fucking over now because I couldn't – can't – tell anyone? There are so many of us and we don't tell, we allow them to get away with it time and time again. If all us survivors were to go to the police tomorrow they'd have to lock up nearly every man in this country, I tell you (Anita).

The re-location from *victim* to *survivor* was not seen in terms of a temporal or linear progression, as many of the group members constantly moved between the victim/survivor subject positions, either within an individual session, or across sessions. Many also adopted both positions contemporaneously within a single account of their experiences.

From 'victim' to 'survivor'

The truth game operating in the self-help group was constituted by a specific field of knowledge and experience in relation to child sexual abuse that was informed both by heteropatriarchal culture and the proliferation of texts on the subject of surviving child sexual abuse. Speaking out about child sexual abuse, both within the group setting and outside of it, was integral to adopting the subject positions opened up by this Truth game.

The confessional arena of the group was set up to serve a number of functions. These included breaking the 'conspiracy of silence' surrounding child sexual abuse and the isolation that many women have been sexually abused often feel. Additionally, the group explicitly took on a healing and transformatory function, in so doing providing an arena for the operations of the technologies of the self. A further function of the group was political. Bass and Davis (1997), in common with Armstrong, (1976, 1996) and Champagne (1996) have argued that speaking out about abuse serves a performative, political function, as it enables the survivor to 'join a courageous community of women who are no longer willing to suffer in silence' (*ibid*: 95).

The subject positions of *victim of child sexual abuse* and *survivor* both centrally embraced an identification with being sexually abused in childhood. With the *victim of abuse* subject position, an autonomous space was opened up to talk candidly about the abuse and its effects in later life. Speaking out about the abuse in this context was seen as a confessional or an apolitical technology of healing. With the second subject position, these hitherto apolitical experiences were mobilized (cf. Mouffe, 1992), both in terms of the individual strengths and resourcefulness of survivors, and in terms of the attendant interventions into the heteropatriarchal social configurations. Being, or becoming, a survivor was therefore overtly linked with understanding the political nature of abuse (Champagne, 1996).

The self-help group provided women with an autonomous space for the constitution and reconstitution of their experiences in relation to the abuse they had suffered. It provided a site for resistance against what many of the group members saw as the stigmatising processes of formal therapeutic and clinic practice. It was also used as a launch pad for interventions into heteropatriarchy. One implication of discursive dynamics of the group created a situation where members were constructing and re-constructing themselves as 'as reified victims' (Alcoff, Barry and Gray, 1993:266). The identifications that were discussed, negotiated and re-located in the group were all set against a backdrop of the harmful acts inflicted on women by a powerful male other (cf. Kitzinger and Perkins, 1992). Whilst the discursive arena of surviving sexual abuse provides a powerful intervention into the asymmetries of power inherent in heteropatriarchy, it is also problematic because the survivors who take up these positions largely gain power and visibility through the acts of sexual violence they have been subjected to. In other words the subjects that interpolated in this setting were constructed as 'objects of abuse' (Barry, 1984: 44).

The ensemble of subject positions relating to the discursive arena of *surviving abuse* were such that the *victim* and *survivor* subject positions were, in many respects, coeval. The harmfulness of abuse that was central to the *victim of abuse* subject position was also mobilised within the *survivor* subject position. With the *victim of abuse* subject position, the emphasis was placed upon understanding and making the connections between the past abuse and their present selves, which was seen as a route to healing. The narration of harm took on a different discursive function within the *survivor* subject position. It was used in order to highlight the feminist case that child sexual abuse is one inevitable consequence of heteropatriarchial social orders. Diana Russell makes the point that:

It is dangerous when the negative effects of traumatic experiences are downplayed ... [D]ownplaying the impact – and hence the importance – of child sexual abuse serves to protect the perpetrator. If child sexual abuse were not damaging, why bother that much about it and/or

why punish the perpetrators? Downplaying it is also likely to result in more men sexually abusing children (*ibid*, 1992: 52).

The 'survivor' is required to embrace the harmful effects of the abuse, as this claims and acknowledges the severity of the abuse. It also provides a warrant to challenge the subjugation of women and children under hetero-patriarchy, it offers a source of strength and resilience to survivors, and finally, it makes a plea for resources (see Chapter 6). Thus retaining a level of identification with the *victim* subject position is integral to adopting the *survivor* subject position.

The re-location from *victim* to *survivor* was not seen in terms of a temporal or linear progression, as many of the group members constantly moved between the victim/survivor subject positions, either within an individual session, or across sessions. Many also adopted both positions contemporaneously within a single account of their experiences.

The acquisition of the 'survivor' discourse

The adoption of an explicitly feminist ideology meant that the exploration of the women's 'problems' were partial. The accounts of the impact that the abuse had on their lives were consistently described in highly gender-specific ways. This was due, in part, to the fact that the self-help group was a woman-only environment. But at the same time as attributing the responsibility for the abuse to heteropatriarchal culture, many members of the group tended to assess their achievements and shortcomings in the terms of the typically female constructs that are deployed within this same framework. For example, group members spoke of the problems they had had, or were having, with their sexual and non-sexual relationships with men, difficulties with child rearing, and how they felt about their bodies. Whilst being historically important in terms of mobilizing recognition, resources and support, the identifications with abuse advocated by the group meant that the women's experiences were still inscribed in relation to taken-for-granted acceptance of subordination. Their minds and bodies were

construed as a passive, reflective or inscriptive surfaces for the operations of male power and domination (Perini and Bayer, 1996), thereby reproducing traditionally gendered forms of subjectivity, femininity and heterosexuality (see Levitt, 1990; Kitzinger, J., 1992; O'Dell, 1998).

Members of the women's group were defined, and defined themselves, in terms of 'true' knowledge about the child sexual abuse and the identifications with the identity trajectory of 'survivor' that this set in motion. Group members attempted to re-locate to the preferred subject position of political survivor, as they saw this as the place where the project of happiness and betterment could be accomplished. The facilitator played a key role in this discursive re-location and other regulatory practices of the self. For example, in the exchanges I observed the facilitator directed the women in the group to both express and re-configure their experiences so that that the preferred subject position of survivor was available for them to take up. This interpolation of the subject was not the product of the facilitator as an 'individual' or the particular interventions she made in the group. The opening up of the subject position of survivor was, instead, bound up with the confessional, 'therapeutic' arena in which the discussions took place and the truth game of being or becoming a survivor that informed it.

As both the experiences of and responses to being sexually abused in childhood are neither singular nor fixed, it can give rise to a complex range of identifications and subject positions. These identifications may vary over time and place and to the extent to which the experience of being sexually abused is seen as a defining aspect of the self at any particular moment, or at all. Within the self-help group, however, these multiplicitious experiences were galvanised and homogenised into singularised trajectories of *victims* and *survivors* that assumed a unity of experiences.

This presumed unity is also reflected in the self-help literature on surviving sexual abuse where survivors are seen, in somewhat essentialist terms, to have 'a

common past ...a common language' (Hall and Lloyd, 1989:5) and a common trajectory of healing following the abuse (cf. Bass and Davis, 1994). This unity is contingent and partial, as the discursive arena of surviving child sexual abuse, in common with the mainstream, mass-market genre of self-help, tends to target and generally reflects mostly white, broadly middle class, female, heterosexual audiences (Kaminer, 1993; Perini and Bayer, 1996; Simonds, 1996).

I mentioned earlier, in relation to Champagne's (1994) work that speaking out about abuse is likened to coming out as a lesbian and gay man. According to Jenny Kitzinger (1992), however, heterosexuality is often assumed within self-help and professional texts on surviving abuse. Where lesbian sexual relationships are considered this tends to be in a way that 'precludes any recognition that lesbian sex might have a different socio-political, as well as personal, meaning that is quite distinct from sex with a man' (*ibid*: 408).

Similarly, men because they are construed as always already powerful or power seeking – particularly in their relationships with women and children – tend to be largely overlooked in discourses on surviving sexual abuse (cf. Dimock, 1988; Bolton, Morris and Machearon, 1990). The experiences of Black women are also obfuscated within these discourses (Wyatt, 1990). Bogel makes the point that:

[B]ooks that have been written on the subject have ignored and excluded any experiences of what it means to be a black survivor. All the myth, stereotypes and racism that surrounds sexual abuse have portrayed incest as problematic for white women and children. Black women did not have a place in this inherent in explanations of child sexual abuse. (cited by Wilson, 1993:7)

A final point is that inherent to the subject positions associated with surviving sexual abuse is the view that the abuse is something which occurred in the past and that adult women are struggling with its consequences in the present (cf. Hall and Lloyd, 1989; Bass and Davis, 1994). Adult women are therefore construed as survivors and children are not – due to their temporal location in relation to the abuse; it is something that has *happened* rather than something which is *happening*.

Resistance to the abuse, another facet of being a survivor, is also construed along temporal lines. Resistance is usually seen in terms of retrospectively working on the consequences of abuse (for example through therapy and/or reading about the abuse) as opposed to resisting assault at the time it is happening. Children are constructed as being incompatible with the subject position(s) of survivor, for it is assumed within these discourses that, for them, the abuse is on-going and that they are powerless in relation to it - because they are children. According to Kitzinger (1990), however, far from being the hopeless despairing victims that they are represented to be, children adopt numerous strategies to resist their abuse. These include 'inducing nose bleeds, [holding] their breath until they fainted; having 'accidents'; barricading their bedrooms; fleeing and hiding' (1990: 163). Yet these tend to be regarded as symptoms of the abuse, rather than strategies of resistance. Thus discourses on adult survival both obscure the ways in which children resist being abused and are predicated upon a particular deployment of the child as powerless, 'natural victim' (cf. Chapter 3).

SECTION 4: Conclusions

In this final section I review some of the issues raised by the subject positions I have identified – the ways in which they were explicated, advocated, negotiated, constructed and resisted.

In this Chapter I show the ways in which the self-producing and self-fashioning operations objectification and subjectification open up possibilities for identifications and subject positions within the discursive arena of child sexual abuse. The subjects of these discourses are, as Henriqués *et al* argue, 'caught in the mutually constitutive web of social practices, discourses and subjectivity' (1984:117) that operate in relation to cultural regulatory practices and ideals about adults, children and sex. It also has implications for the understandings of the self in relation to itself and others (cf. Rose, 1996) in terms of the different rights, rules of right and wrong (Burr, 1995) obligations and possibilities for action (McNay, 1994; Burr, 1995).

In HMP Grendon, the inmates were incited to take up subject positions associated with the ethical stance of self-regulating conduct – which in this context meant understanding the aetiology of their offences in particular ways and demonstrating their potential ability to form relationships with women based on consensuality and mutuality. Ethical conduct was also deployed within the truth game of 'true' paedophilia with which Andrew identified. In this case however, the consensuality and mutuality was directed at children and not adult women. Andrew, and the other 'true' paedophiles on whose behalf he claimed to speak, deployed consent as a basis for resisting the dominant formulations of all adult/child sexual contact as abuse. Thus, whilst children were the 'absent present' in Grendon due to the belief that an enduring sexual interest in children was 'untreatable', the issue of an

adult's sexual attraction to children was central to the discourses on 'true' paedophilia deployed by Andrew.

The women in the self-help group, I would argue, were encouraged to shape the accounts they gave of their experiences in terms of attributions of responsibility for the abuse. So 'self blaming' accounts of abuse were re-formulated so that the responsibility for the abuse was re-directed away from the self to individual male abusers and the wider cultural arrangement of heteropatriarchy, as this was seen as a route to the preferred subject position of survivor.

The telos of all the subject positions considered in this Chapter were reproduced within normative frameworks of the Modern subject. Thus, the self-forming practices engendered by the processes of objectification and subjectification were based upon the realisation of normalised images of the self. In terms of HMP, Grendon this implied the production of 'normal' heterosexual subjects. Alternatively, with 'true' paedophilia this involved refuting the subject position of 'child sexual abuser' as a monstrous Other, and instead laying claim to being a 'child-lover', as an ethically acceptable personage of a particular sexual orientation. With the women's self-help group, the deleterious effects of the abuse were normalised by being turned into 'coping strategies' and 'rational reactions to irrational, insidious acts of abuse'. This allowed the adoption of an ethical subjectivity – that of a brave, feisty and self-confident survivor.

Investment and accountability were also reflected in the subject positions (cf. Wetherell, 1998) through which subject positions for the listening as well as speaking subject were opened up (cf. Tschuggnall, 1999). According to McNamee (1996) the telling of a narrative is always constrained and potentiated, as are its meanings, by the relationship (real and imagined) in which the story-telling occurs. Rather than being 'truth bearing', many of the accounts of abuse that were heard could be reinterpreted as being strategic in order to serve vested interests. Thus in the setting of HMP Grendon the take-up of preferred subject position of

'reformed character' can be associated with the 'desire to be free'. With Andrew his identification with an ethical subject position reflects his desire to have unregulated sexual contacts with a children. (His account was also given within the contextual constraint of me reporting any concerns I had about him to the relevant authorities). For survivors of sexual abuse the vested interests may reflect their concern not only to achieve personal gains – greater self-confidence and to free themselves from the debilitating effects of the abuse – but also to gain resources and stop the sexual abuse of children.

CHAPTER 8

TOWARDS SOME CONCLUSIONS

Introduction

This final Chapter provides an overview of the key findings of my thesis and discusses the implications of these in terms of theory, practice and research in the area of child sexual abuse. It also examines methodological issues and reflects upon my own experiences of conducting this work. In it I will:

- Draw together the main issues to arise from the theoretical and empirical work conducted for this thesis;
- From these, explore some of the practical implications for policy, practice and training in relation to what has come to be called 'safeguarding children';
- Reflect upon the methodological approaches I have used, and develop the argument with which I began in the Introduction to Section 2 that critical polytextualist theory demands methods of enquiry that are appropriate to its challenge to positivism;
- Reflect upon my own experiences, as a researcher, seeking to deconstruct a concept like 'child sexual abuse', an endeavour that carries considerable risks of being misinterpreted as colluding with the mistreatment of children;

Overview of theory and main findings

Currently in the English speaking world, adult/child sex and knowledge about it has become firmly located within a taken-for-granted 'child sexual abuse' discourse. Even a cursory examination of popular texts (e.g. articles in the media), policy documents and training materials will reveal that adult/child sex is portrayed in highly consensual terms. It is viewed as inherently abusive and inevitably harmful to the child concerned, and regarded as a serious social problem that requires intervention. In other words, 'child sexual abuse' has become reified as a taken-for-granted, commonsense 'fact'; and this interpretation of adult/child sex has become the prevailing authoritative worldview.

My argument in this thesis has been that despite being commonly portrayed through this singularity, the discursive arena of adult/child sex is a site of controversy and conflict, invested with meanings that differ over time and place. It is a discursive location where different fields of knowledge and experience are played out, and cacophonies of competing discourses intersect. Hence the child sexual abuse discourse cannot be thought of as something that exists outside of the situated knowledge through which its dominance is maintained and that has brought it into being. The 'realities' that are taken for granted about child sexual abuse – the things 'known' about it and how it works – are not what they seem to be: self-evident truths about what 'it' *is* and what 'it' is *really* like. Rather they are local and contingent 'truths' that operate within an ecology of different knowledges about adult/child sex.

My aim therefore was to access some of the complex, heterogeneous and nuanced ways in which adult/child sex is 'put into discourse' (cf Berger and Luckman, 1967). Pursuant to this aim, I spoke to a number of persons-in-culture (including people working in the area of child sexual abuse, convicted sexual abusers, advocates of paedophilia and those who have been directly affected by child sexual abuse) in a

range of settings, using a variety of methods. The idea, in so doing, was not to provide an account of what is assumed to be the 'brute reality' of child sexual abuse (for example its incidence, prevalence or its long-term effects). Rather, my aim was to explore the 'social knowing' (Curt, 1994) of child sexual abuse and the textuality and tectonics through which it is constituted and maintained. I aimed, therefore, to show 'how child sexual abuse works' (c.f. Parton, *et al*, 1997) by explicating the diversity of accounts of adult/child sex, and the intelligibilities through which they have been 'put into discourse' (cf. Berger and Luckman, *op cit*).

An approach that seeks to explicate rather than explain involves the opening up or 'unfolding' of something so that it can be examined more closely. The purpose is not to seek to reveal a real foundation that is unquestionably there but, rather, to tease apart the enfolded discursive web of textuality in order to examine its construction, tectonics and operation. Thus the critical polytextualist approach I adopted in this thesis attempted to make explicit some of the polysemic ways in which different discursive 'realities' are spun from different knowledges. In particular I sought to examine how some of these undergird the child sexual abuse discourse so as to make it appear real and meaningful, whereas others challenge its truth claims and/or offer alternative standpoints from which adult/child sex may be understood (c.f. Doyle McCarthy, 1996). Thus, I have examined the discursive flux surrounding child sexual abuse and the ways in which this is mobilised in discourses and discursive positions of various kinds that operate more broadly in respect to adult/child sex. This was done, not in an attempt to work out which of these are most accurate or most valid, but rather (like the ecologist) to consider why each one occupies its particular niche and what it is 'doing' there.

The mainstream child abuse discourse

The empirical work conducted for this thesis revealed two rather different variants of the mainstream child sexual abuse discourse, one drawing primarily on feminist interpretations of adult/child sex and the other focussing more on the need to protect children from abuse. Both regard all adult/child sex as abusive, see child sexual abuse as a common yet very serious problem, and view it as an offence that is overwhelmingly committed by men. Both assume that being sexually abused gives rise to damaging long-term effects for the children concerned, and therefore assume that strong measures are justified in order to protect them. Yet whilst being intertextual in many respects, these two variants were in many ways different. Their main point of divergence concerns the aetiology of sexually abusive behaviour.

With the child protectionist variant, the aetiology of child sexual abuse was seen as rooted in a combination of social and psychological factors, primarily distorted thinking on the part of perpetrators arising from their own experiences of sexual abuse in childhood. Being abused is seen to give rise to feelings of powerlessness in the men concerned which runs counter to the social expectations that they should be strong, dominant and in control. It also sparks a sexual interest in children. So whilst this variant was theorised as being about power, it was also about deviant sexuality. With the feminist variant, however, such individualistic explanations for abuse were refuted. This is because they were seen as providing the means by which abusers can absolve themselves of personal responsibility for the offences they had committed. Instead the male dominated pattern of socialisation – heteropatriarchy – was seen both to give rise to predatory male sexuality and to invest men with the power to control and abuse women and children.

The points of convergence between the feminist and child protection variants, however, provide a set of tenets that anyone who works with children not only *has* to

adopt if they are to be accepted as authentic and responsible, but to which they must also overtly demonstrate allegiance. Together this discourse forms a mainstream approach which regards adult/child sex as *synonymous with* child sexual abuse, in which certain 'truths' are held to be not only self-evident but the only morally acceptable doctrine upon which to base decision-making and action.

This mainstream account of child sexual abuse is based on three main legitimising warrants. Firstly in so far as the empirical data on the incidence of child sexual abuse points to the gendered nature of these offences, feminist discourses have been accorded a legitimacy today that was not the case in the past. Secondly, child protectionist discourses have adopted an authority that is derived from their hegemonic links with the power/knowledge regimes of the psy-disciplines (cf. Rose, 1989; Parton, 1991). This, as Rose (1996) suggests, is because the forms of knowledge which are associated with the psy-disciplines have acquired a peculiar penetrative capacity which claims to tell the truth about human beings and their conduct (see Chapter 3). In particular this is a 'discourse of damage' (Chapter 1) which justifies protection on the basis of the harm children suffer from abuse. Finally the veracity of the mainstream approach overall is warranted by the risks posed by any other interpretation of adult/child sex – that they can be used to justify paedophilia. This 'discourse of danger' acts as a highly potent prohibition against countenancing any possibility that adult/child sex could ever be anything other than abusive.

The paedophile justification

An important outcome of the empirical work conducted for this thesis has been a clear articulation of the paedophile justification, which was expressed both through the Q-study (in which a number of self-identified proponents of 'boy-love' participated) and in the interviews I conducted with a self-declared paedophile. These data provide a clear

account of this rationalization, and give an unusually detailed exposition of the case being made. Moreover, the data described in Chapter 5 highlight the way that the 'boy love' discourse appropriates and makes use of the discourse on children's rights to further its claims.

The mainstream discourse

It would have been inconceivable that the feminist and child protectionist variants of the mainstream 'child sexual abuse' discourse would have remained unarticulated within the empirical findings of this thesis. Indeed, analysis of each of the three Q-sets – on explanations (Chapter 4), policy (Chapter 5) and standpoints (Chapter 6) – yielded a factor in which these positions were clearly articulated in considerable detail.

Challenges to the mainstream discourse that are not justifications for paedophilia

But a crucial finding of this thesis is that, despite the dominance of the mainstream account's claim that *all* adult child sex is abusive, there are in operation a number of other alternative understandings of child sexual abuse other than a justification for paedophilia. These offer a range of different understandings of what constitutes child sexual abuse in terms of what is and is not allowable and acceptable in relation to adult/child sex. Crucially, they work from alternative moral considerations and adopt very different standpoints about what actions should be taken with regard to these modes of human conduct.

However, more vital still has been the articulation of alternative viewpoints that directly challenge the 'child sexual abuse' discourse, yet are equally not mere justifications of paedophilia. Rather they draw attention to the drawbacks and dangers inherent in the whole *concept* of 'child sexual abuse', and, particularly, the consequences for children

in conceptualising adult/child sex in this manner. They too suggest different strategies for addressing the issue of adult/child sex in terms both of social policy and professional practice. Broadly three such alternative discourses were identified and examined in this thesis, based on:

- A **liberal** discourse that stresses civil liberties and the civil rights of all individuals, groups and communities;
- A **children's rights** discourse that views children as social actors rather than merely objects of concern, and draws attention to children's growing capacities as they mature;
- A **social constructionist** discourse that directs attention to the interplay between the construction of knowledge and the operation of power.

These discourses, in rather different ways, raise two main challenges to the mainstream approach:

- A concern with **civil rights** which highlights the risks that arise from pathologising perpetrators, and of treating particular groups (e.g. *all* men) as dangerous. It arises primarily from the liberal discourse (see Chapter 4), which raises concern about the consequences of being solely preoccupied with the psychological harm that children may suffer. It still holds perpetrators as morally accountable for their actions, but regards their civil rights as still needing to be protected (e.g. their rights to a fair trial) alongside consideration for the child. It holds, for example, that child sexual abusers should be given the opportunity to 'wipe the slate clean' – as is the case with other crimes – rather than being eternally stigmatised in ways which profoundly undermine an individual's human rights. It is worth noting that this concern has now been built into legislation, which is likely to have direct effects upon what can, legally, be done in relation to perpetrators.

It also emphasises the dangers of stigmatising children – construing them as inherently vulnerable and incapable, which may be used to justify denying children their civil rights in the name of ‘protection’. More generally it directs attention to the risks inherent in stigmatising those who have suffered abuse (both children and adults). Viewing them as inevitably ‘damaged’ provides a powerful warrant for expecting – or even requiring – them to have treatment.

A concern with the **operation of power** (expressed in the *Social Constructionist/Children’s Rights* discursive position) which states that we should look critically at the power that certain groups have to define the reality of others, especially the power of professional groups such as social workers, therapists and medical staff. It also raises the concern about the way that ignoring children’s sexuality and assuming them to be inherently incapable of giving consent may not reflect the realities of some children’s lived experience. This can alienate those children who have been engaged in sex by adults and prevent them from seeking help. It can also deny *all* children and young people services (such as access to contraception) and sex education, in the pursuit of ‘preserving their innocence’.

The need to challenge the mainstream

My findings have shown that within the discursive arena of adult/child sex, a diversity of values and ethics for conduct in relation to children, sexuality and transgression continue to operate, albeit in the shadow of the dominant ‘child sexual abuse discourse’ (cf. Kincaid, 1998). While the dominance of mainstream approaches is generally warranted on the basis of its superior ethical value, this warrant can – and, I believe, should – be subjected to ‘critical doubt’ (Curt, 1994). In other words, I believe that its downside costs for children should be subjected to scrutiny. We need to ask, I believe, to what extent is the currently dominant ‘child sexual abuse’ discourse *actually* emancipatory for and respecting of the rights of children?

The down-side consequences of singularising children as inevitable victims

One effect of the mainstream discourse is that it singularises children who engage sexually in any way with adults as inevitably victims – no other subject position is available to them. Whilst this is undoubtedly an appropriate response in relation to certain forms of conduct in this area, the implications of always-already singularising children as victims are far reaching. Jenny Kitzinger (1990), for example, makes the point that when children seek to deal with abuse by using a number of coping strategies, when they are positioned solely as victims, then such coping strategies are viewed as merely manifestations of the harmful effects of the abuse. Children who, for example, become withdrawn or, alternatively, aggressive are seen as 'acting out' their distress, rather than as seeking to accommodate or resist its effects on them.

This, in denying children any agency – denying the possibility that they may be competent social actors in their own right, able to manage the distress they are feeling in certain situations – reinforces the view that children are incompetent and incapable. And, once seen as incompetent, once treated as mere 'objects of concern' (rather than authentic subjects in their own right), their citizenship is denied, and along with this their civil rights. This is precisely the criticism made by Butler-Sloss in her inquiry into the events in Cleveland (Butler-Sloss, 1988), where children's civil and human rights were severely undermined. In the efforts made to 'protect' them, child welfare professionals exposed children to treatment which would, in any other context, be viewed as fundamentally contrary to their human and civil rights.

Children as abusers and childhood sexuality

Discussions of childhood sexuality in this thesis gave rise to a number of uneasy tensions. With many of the accounts explicated in this thesis it was claimed that in recognising the possibility of childhood sexuality and placing this in the same discursive domain as child sexual abuse would inevitably open the door to children's

sexual exploitation. Where childhood sexuality was discussed in terms of issues of agency and consent, this also tended to be eclipsed by fears over their sexual victimisation. The accounts derived from *feminist* and *child protectionist* discursive positions make this point explicitly. These discourses held that children should be educated about sexual matters (for example to inform their own developing sexual awareness) but solely because it would help them to identify potentially sexually abusive experiences. There was, therefore, a distinct unwillingness to acknowledge children's sexuality *qua* sexuality. This was largely placed under erasure or discussed only within a context of how their 'normal' and 'natural' sexual development could be derailed by inappropriate sexual contacts with adults (or with their peers for that matter). There was no acknowledgement that children are entitled to sex education simply as a component of their general entitlement to be educated. In order to maintain a separation between childhood sexuality and child sexual abuse, children were portrayed as not only lacking sexuality or sexual agency, but also lacking any need or right to know about sex and sexuality in and of themselves.

The findings of this thesis demonstrated that children's rights is a contested area, in particular when these rights extends into children's sexual rights (cf. Richardson, 2000). Two accounts challenged the denial of children's sexuality and sexual agency that were evident within *feminist* and *child protection* discourses. Within the *children's rights/social constructionist* account, childhood sexuality was construed within a broad context of children's rights and entitlements. This account expressly argued that considerations of child sexual abuse must take account of children's rights. This, it was argued, can be approached without denying seriousness of abuse, condoning abuse or ignoring issues of power and exploitation. The central tenet here is that concerns about children's vulnerability should not become so strong a preoccupation that it obliterates any recognition of children's rights. In particular it draws attention to the harms that children may suffer by riding roughshod over their rights.

Within the *boy-love* discourse children's sexual agency was the lynchpin for adults engaging sexually with them. Within this discursive position children's consent (or 'willingness') to engage in sex with adults is presented as the key determiner of whether adult/child sex is or is not child sexual abuse. Whilst this discourse has been readily dismissed on the grounds that it is deployed in a wholly self-serving capacity (see, for example de Young, 1989) the dangers in this is that what is overlooked, in so doing, are the ways in which *boy-love* account clearly makes use of the *children's rights* account to promote its case for adult engagement in sex with children.

The main difference between the two standpoints is that while the *children's rights* discourse retains a strong sensitivity to issues of power – especially adult power – the *boy-love* discourse does not. It takes a naive and self-serving position on the power differential between adults and children. Paedophiles are portrayed as benevolent and benign; as motivated by a desire to care for and educate children; as offering them love and consideration. Children are depicted as self-aware and willing participants in sex with them, and able to give fully informed consent to it. The power-inequality between adult and child is thereby hidden behind a discursive veil woven out of words like 'gentle' and 'kind' and 'caring', that conceals the possibility of 'grooming', coercion or persuasion.

Thinking the unthinkable and saying the unsayable

All of this points to a broader set of issues about what is thinkable and sayable within the discursive domain of child sexual abuse. Anything that could in any way suggest that the sexual abuse of children is being 'condoned' is highly regulated. Wattam and Parton (1999) provide an example of this when they argue that it those wish to abuse children who are those who are most accepting of a notion of childhood sexuality. In so doing, I would argue, they are deploy their own construction of childhood sexuality and not that of children themselves.

My findings demonstrate that whilst it was certainly the case that the advocates of paedophilia who took part in this research were doing just that, the same could not be said about those who sought to adopt a children's rights perspective. This standpoint takes the position that a willingness to accept childhood sexuality must not merely be seen as a warrant to paedophilia. To do so silences other crucial concerns and limits the ways in which adults can hear, respect and work with children.

Just to give one example Masson and Morrison (1999) note that there is a dearth of research which asks children themselves about their sexual knowledge, behaviour and emotions, or which views and involves them as subjects of their own experience. The fear of colluding with paedophilia has prevented us from finding out about children's sexual experiences and anxieties about sex. Yet I would suggest that this is precisely the information we need in order to work effectively with children.

Some researchers have been brave enough to tackle such research, albeit still within a protectionist gaze. Green and Parkin (1999) explored some of the meanings young people attached to their engagements in sexual activity in residential care settings. Their findings were not dissimilar to those of Plummer (1992), who concluded that young people are capable of deploying sexuality in ways that are not dissimilar to those used by adults. Children, like adults, can use sexuality to pose a challenge to authority, to exploit others, as a conquest; for physical affection or in exchange for material commodities.

Some of the meanings identified by Green and Parkin were highly context specific and were attributed to the lack of affection that the young people had received in residential settings. Thus, they argued, sexual needs would often become blurred and undifferentiated from other needs (e.g. for affection) 'and "quick fix" sex would thus be used to try to and fulfil other needs' (Green and Parkin, 1999: 179). They further note that children who had been previously abused in their families could not differentiate

between abusive and non-abusive sexual behaviour or were accepting of fleeting sexual encounters because that was the only way they knew of procuring affection.

Whilst being specific to the context in which they were expressed, the meanings that these young people were attaching to sex were not, on the face of it, that different to those used by many adults in sexual relationships. Green and Parkin are firmly located in the discourse which positions children as objects of concern rather than as subjects and authors of their experience. Consequently the meanings that they attach to the children's accounts of and explanations for their sexual experiences are viewed as manifestations of some underlying problem, such as previous sexual victimisation or a lack of affection.

Phillips (1999) took a less narrow stance. When she looked at the meanings that young people attach to their sexual encounters, she examined young teen women's accounts of their relationships with older men. Whilst the vast majority of this work in this area denies that young people may be joint authors in their experiences (cf Burkitt, 1999), Phillips reported that many of the young women she spoke to 'often claim[ed] to be fully informed agents in the very phenomenon that others consider to be victimization' (Phillips, 1999: 83). She spent a year conducting focus groups and individual interviews with a racially and socially diverse group of 127 adolescents and older women ranging from 14 – 46 who were either having, or who had had 'willing' sexual relationships with men who were much older than they were. Her study aimed to 'probe ... the nuanced meanings of such presumed dichotomies as consent and coercion, victimization and agency, danger and desire' (Phillips, 1999: 85).

The young women in her study, far from feeling exploited, saw themselves as active agents who were capable of making proactive decisions about their sexuality. They argued that they reaped material and psychological benefits from their involvements with adult men, not least of which was an escape from the perceived constraints of

adolescence into the freedoms, privileges and other trappings of the adult world. When this study is considered alongside the detailed account of 'boy-love' or 'true paedophilia' offered by Andrew in Chapter 7 it once again brings the implications of considering childhood sexuality within the discursive domain of child sexual abuse into a sharp and perturbing focus. Andrew was basically drawing upon similar arguments to those used by the young women in Phillips' study in order to justify adult/child sex.

Phillips, however, (unlike Andrew and other proponents of his position) also considered the downside costs of these relationships. This she did by interviewing adult women who had been involved with older men in their teens, in order to explore the potential outcomes that the girls currently involved in adult-teen relationships may not yet have experienced and not anticipate. These women argued that the very trappings of adulthood (money, status etc) that had originally attracted them to adult men were the very factors that ultimately made their relationships problematic. While the young women in Phillips' study entered these relationships of their own accord, the power imbalances were such that many felt less able to negotiate within or leave such relationships without considerable social emotional and material repercussions.

In an argument that is intertextual with the *feminist* and *children's rights* perspectives explicated in this thesis, Phillips states that what needs to be challenged is a society that encourages young women to gain status and security through their attachments to men with all of the gendered and age related power imbalances that this implies. But she also argues – this time in line with a *social constructionist/children's rights* discourses – that we must be prepared to listen to teen women's stories in their own terms, and to strive to view their needs in these terms and not through adult constructions of what is needed. She further argues that while punitive or protective approaches to adult-teen relationships may temporarily ease the anxieties of adults who wish to advocate for girls, true advocacy must involve broader efforts to provide

them with the resources that they need and the respect that they deserve as citizens, both within and outwith these relationships.

When the issue of sexual agency switches to children as abusers, very few of the accounts explicated in this thesis gave any detailed consideration to this aspect. This further reflects the view that so far as child sexual abuse is concerned, children are predominantly construed as victims rather than actors in their own right. The two discursive positions that saw issues of children as abusers as being salient dealt with the issues in different ways. With the *liberal humanist* account, the idea that children can be abusers was considered as part of the broader and more even handed argument that we should avoid stereotyped assumptions about who is involved in sexual abuse. That is, we should be prepared to accept that it is not only men that commit offences; women and children may also do so. With the discursive position explicated as *boy-love*, the idea of children as abusers was reconfigured – again along self-serving lines – to suggest that what is called abuse between children should properly be seen as ‘sexual experimentation’. The singularisation of children as victims and the failure to recognise their sexual agency points to a dilemma when growing research evidence suggests that young abusers account for a significant proportion of sexual victimisation (Masson and Morrison, 1999; Masson, 1999).

Stainton Rogers and Stainton Rogers (1998) makes the point that to view children as always-already victims so far as adult/child sex is concerned is both paradoxical and erroneous. The example they give to illustrate their point is that under English law a twelve-year-old boy can be convicted of rape. Under these circumstances the boy is seen as not only consenting to sex but also of being culpable for his actions. But, they continue, a twelve-year-old boy who engages in sex with a consenting older woman is, himself, seen as incapable of consenting. Rather, he is treated as a victim of child sexual abuse.

Implications for policy, practice and safeguarding children

Stainton Rogers and Stainton Rogers example not only points to a paradox in the law but also one of the problems associated with adopting a singularised view of children. As Masson and Morrison (1999) note, not only is there currently a lack of professional training about childhood sexuality and working with children on sexual issues, the complexities surrounding work with young sexual abusers have yet to be fully understood within the broader contextual frameworks relating to the nature of childhood and childhood sexuality. Also, 'given current pervasive assumptions about the innocence of childhood, it may be that professionals and public alike find it difficult to accept that children and adolescents are capable of such behaviour' (Masson, 1999: 34).

Some implications of the foregoing discussion are that we need to reopen and move beyond the conceptualisations of power that are currently operating in the dominant mainstream approach to child sexual abuse. To assume that children are always powerless and then to allow this to guide our thinking on adult/child sex is clearly at odds with analyses of children's agency in other contexts, such as in relation to their behaviour in the classroom (see for example Walkerdine, 1990). Foucault has variously argued, power is a fundamental effect of *all* relationships, a point which Burkitt extends when he argues that

In any relationship we care to think of – a political relation, between people at work, in the family, between lovers – power can manifest itself as an imbalance or inequality between those who are related. It is hard in fact to think of any relationship free of such imbalances and therefore of the opportunity to exercise power (Burkitt, 1999: 72).

Viewing children as always-already victims not only denies their strengths and resourcefulness (cf. Kitzinger, 1990), it also overlooks their sexual agency as well as their capacity to sexually victimise others. This arena of contestation and debate, for

me, suggests that the time has come to move away from the dichotomous thinking over children's rights. This is characterised, on the one hand, by children who are conceptualised as separate autonomous individuals, responsible enough to exercise rights and take responsibility for their actions (typified by the *social constructionist/children's rights* discursive positions for example). On the other hand children are viewed as dependent incompetents who do not bear responsibility for their actions (typified by the feminist and child protection discourses). Children and young people may be at once both and neither of these alternatives. The point is that there may be more subtle alternatives which are overlooked outwith these polarised positions. Masson makes a similar point when she argues that

Society can be seen as oscillating over time between images of children 'at risk' or children 'as risk', but largely failing to own both conceptions simultaneously. Such dichotomised thinking...can then all too easily result in policy and practice developments which fail to reflect children and adolescents as people with many dimensions to their being (*ibid*, 1999: 35).

Thus what is required is a rethink of the ways in which children are generally viewed. Traditional notions of children encapsulated within mainstream singularising discourses on child sexual abuse not only justify taking action against the sexual exploitation of small children. As Sullivan (1992), argues they are also used to justify regulating the sexuality of teenagers (see also Stainton Rogers and Stainton Rogers, 1999). This, in my view, reflects Masson and Morrison's point that there are 'ongoing uncertainties about how we conceptualise children in general, what we expect from them in terms of their behaviour, particularly sexual behaviour, and about the aims of child welfare policy and legislation' (*ibid*, 1999: 203). The point is that our current formulations of child sexual abuse may disenfranchise some children. Furthermore they may, by presenting them as 'innocent victims', also have the effect of presenting children and young people as 'prey' for predatory abusers (see Kitzinger, 1988, 1990; Smart, 1989; Phillips, 1999).

The challenge therefore is to listen to children's stories of 'consensual' sexual activity alongside their stories of victimisation in order to learn from these experiences. It is also to recognise that children can and do perpetrate acts of sexual abuse. What is needed in my view, therefore, are a set of strategies which support children and young people to recognise and name their own oppression as well as a means for openly discussing power (Kitzinger, 1997). In order to do this we must, as Phillips (1999) asserts, speak to children and young people's realities, cultural expectations and personal values. It is also to be in tune with their understandings and respect the priorities they bring to their own decision making (Phillips, 1999).

To fail to do so will further alienate children and young people from being able to talk about what is happening in their lives and, in a point I made earlier, may cut them off from vital services, education and support. Additionally true advocacy involves taking on board the variety of experiences that children may have (Phillips, 1999; Masson and Morrison, 1999). Lamb's comments, although made in relation to adult survivors of child sexual abuse, are apposite here:

by telling them that we know more about their agency in the world than they do, and by informing them that they sadly mistaken in their perception of choice and free will we do them an injustice (Lamb, 1996:22).

This inevitably raises questions about what it is that children and young people are telling us about their experiences and whether we are yet truly prepared to listen. What is needed is a move beyond these discursive enclaves on children's rights and indeed on 'childhood' more generally and child sexual abuse, marked by their polemic insularity within which only the 'like-minded' communicate. So, what then are the implications of all of this for policy, practice and safeguarding children?

I have shown in this thesis that the very idea that adult/child sex is a coherent, unified and bounded problem that can be dealt with by universal forms of reasoning is a problematic conception. This is because, as Fitzpatrick, notes

...we can no longer conceive of ourselves as being in a world where there exists, permanent foundations upon which knowledge of the world may be built.
(Fitzpatrick, 1996:311)

My thesis has shown that there can be no universal autonomous consensus underpinning practice and intervention in the area of child sexual abuse. The concept of universal well-being enshrined in this mode of post-enlightenment positivist thought has been replaced with a series of critical reflections which reflect the non-consensual nature of the social world where meaning is generated in the context in which people find themselves in (Howe, 1994; Rodwell, 1998). Parton has argued that 'real-world problems do not come well formed but on the contrary, present themselves as messy and indeterminate' (2000:453). Adult/child sex is no exception. This discursive arena is marked by fluid and changing concepts of truth where knowledge is 'held tentatively and depends on the context for its power and relevance' (Rodwell, 1998:22). Thus if we forgo the expectation that interventions will be found to be globally effective, we move to the position implied by the critical polytextualism of my approach, where conceptualisations of the phenomenon of adult/child sex and how we should intervene are highly influenced by the way in which the problem is defined and who has the power to define it (Rodwell, 1998; Wattam, 1999).

Whilst my work explicitly seeks to critically engage with, rather than 'solve', the problem of child sexual abuse, it offers, I believe, more than a mere recounting and representation of various discourses and discursive positions. It has shown that critique in this area is not only possible – it is also necessary. My work does much more than merely troubling received understandings of human conduct in a way that only allows

us to 'think' and where nothing gets 'done'. Discourses never merely benignly describe or explain the social world. Crucially, they also offer mandates for action, which, as I will go on to show, have a number of important implications for policy and practice.

Applying critical polytextualism to policy and practice

The world of practice is bound by particularised regimes of knowledge which both determine targets for intervention and guide the interventions in the area of adult/child sex. Those who find themselves in positions of power are able to determine how situations are to be understood and what knowledge is to count as relevant (Howe, 1994). My work encourages us to open out the manifold of possibilities hitherto obscured by mainstream approaches to child sexual abuse.

I argued in Chapter 3 that our understandings of and responses to child sexual abuse have not been developed in any singular way. The world of practice, therefore, needs to reflect this multiplicity and be self-reflexive about the values that inform the range of alternative options that are available.

To abandon certainty and accept the need to question the received 'truths' of the mainstream discourse on child sexual abuse will undoubtedly give rise to a number of anxieties in policy makers and practitioners. At a time when, as Parton *et al.* observe, 'child welfare practitioners and managers are feeling embattled and even under siege in a context of growing referrals and increasingly severe caseloads but where there are insufficient resources to do the job expected of them' (*ibid*, 1997:1), it must come across as unhelpful to add to this confusion by expecting them to question the very basis upon which child sexual abuse policy and practice has been founded.

Yet my finding that there is no clear consensus about what child sexual abuse is, or what should be done about it is also reflected in the world of practice (see Parton *et al*,

1997). Practitioners are already expected to tackle serious concerns about children's welfare in a situation where certainty is elided by 'uncertainty, confusion and doubt' (Parton, 2000:452). Parton's view is that the difficulties being faced will not be solved with attempts to define this ambiguity out of existence via 'increasingly scientized and rational approaches' (*ibid*, 2000: 452) or by 'finding better checklists or new models of psychopathology' (Dingwall *et al.*, 1983: 244). Parton, instead argues, that child protection policy makers and practitioners should recognise that dealing with ambiguity and ambivalence is part of what interventions are about and are at the core of what it is to do social work (*ibid*, 2000: 452; see also Howe, 1994; Rodwell, 1998).

Howe (1994), writing on a postmodern approach to social work, suggests four themes that should inform practitioners in their work. These are: pluralism; participation; power and performance. Stainton Rogers and Stainton Rogers (1999) argue that these offer a useful starting point for applying what they refer to as social constructionism (and I refer to as critical polytextualism in this thesis) to child protection work. Here I will look at the first three of these in relations to the findings from my research.

Pluralism

Howe (1994), in common with Parton (2000) suggests that pluralism involves accepting multiplicity, variety and conflict, and recognising that it is not possible to find neat or comfortable resolutions between competing interests. The work conducted for this thesis – both its empirical findings and its theorisation about the constructed nature of the discourse on 'child sexual abuse' – lends support to this suggestion. By demonstrating multiplicity, variety and conflicting standpoints in the accounts of adult/child sex I have documented, the findings should encourage practitioners to acknowledge that there are alternative value-bases upon which their work can be grounded.

For example, it should help practitioners and policy makers to become willing to take more seriously the civil rights of all those involved – including children themselves, their parents and those of those suspected of sexually assaulting children. The need to ‘keep an open mind’ has always been stressed in child protection work. But this can be extremely hard for practitioners to do, in practice, when they have become enmeshed in a dominant discourse that encourages suspicion of, for instance, men *in general*. By considering an alternative moral focus, practitioners may find it easier to recognise the possible consequences of viewing certain individuals or groups as less deserving of trust or respect than others.

Equally, the results of the empirical studies reported here should encourage practitioners to accept that denying their sexuality may undermine children’s interests. Taking this stance will limit children’s access to information and services such as contraceptive advice, measures to promote safer sex as well as those designed to assist when sexual abuse and exploitation has occurred. It also can create a ‘credibility barrier’ to talking about these issues, since many young people regard themselves as anything but asexual. It may also encourage practitioners to ‘factor in’ the child’s experiences – on their terms – more effectively when dealing with cases of abuse. The social constructionist discourse stresses that while accepting children’s sexuality may have its dangers – so too does denying it. Through recognising this, practitioners can be encouraged to balance children’s needs for and rights to protection with their entitlement to participation and respect for their rights.

Participation

The principle of participation, according to Howe (1994), works from the assumption that all truths are simply ‘working truths’. This then implies that decisions and actions need to be taken inclusively, with the participation of all those involved or affected by them – including children. The dominant child sexual abuse discourse makes

practitioners extremely wary of engaging children in decisions that are made, feeling that children are too vulnerable to coercion, and are incapable of understanding the consequences of certain outcomes (such as remaining in a family in which they may be at risk).

The discourse on children's rights that this thesis has documented refocuses attention, and encourages practitioners to take a more balanced stance. It allows them to acknowledge that while from one standpoint emancipating children is risky, there are also risks to so overprotecting them that they feel powerless and lacking all control of their lives. One crucial consequence is that children have become very wary of seeking help. Many may prefer to put up with mistreatment to accepting 'help' that renders them powerless. By adopting a more participatory approach to their work with children and young people, practitioners will be in a better position to trust. This trust may be crucial for discovering the threats and problems that children and young people may be facing.

Power

Crucially according to Howe (*op cit*) a social constructionist approach demands sensitivity to issues of power, and a willingness to acknowledge how it is deployed and by whom. Of particular importance in this context are those aspects of the social constructionist discourse on adult/child sex that highlight the power wielded by practitioners. The dominant discourse tends to reinforce the assumption that so long as the practitioner is acting 'in the best interests of the child', then their power is being deployed legitimately. Once 'the best interests of the child' is recognised to be complex and contested, this warrant is challenged. Practitioners, once they acknowledge this, must become much more reflexive over the power they have and how they use it.

A much more tricky aspect of any analysis of power is the recognition that children do have power and may use this to both resist abuse and to sexually victimise others. But just because an idea is profoundly discomforting is no reason to regard it as uncountenanceable. Applying constructionism can sometimes be extremely uncomfortable. Once again, there are downside costs to refusing to consider possibilities because they are difficult or distressing. One is, once more, the credibility gap created when practitioners treat children as innocents, when many may see themselves in entirely different terms. Another is the way this constructs the sexual sphere as entirely separate from other aspects of children's lives. If they are held morally accountable for their actions in virtually every other sphere of their lives, what is the consequence of the demarcation of the sexual sphere as somehow immune to moral censure? Plainly there are no quick fixes to be had. We must be prepared integrate what we think we know with what we feel uncomfortable to countenance.

However, this is not an argument that 'anything goes' or for refusing to make judgements between competing discourses. As a metatheoretical outlook, critical polytextualism appears deeply pluralistic. But this is in no way to suggest that there are limitless options for how adult/child sex abuse may be construed, or that each construal is equal to every other. It is also the case that these discourses do not have a foundational stability that can be un- or dis-covered, or through which the various claims that are made may be unproblematically arbitrated or judged (Potter, 1997).

Some of the explicated positions in this thesis are more *functional* than others in that they can achieve certain outcomes. Others are more *ethical* in that they are more likely to be emancipatory for and respecting of children. The point here is that what is at stake is more than wrangles over rhetoric and epistemology, as some behaviour *does* require regulation including that which might be defined as abusive. I would argue that the pragmatic and moral judgements we make, however, are an effect of

discourse marked by power and vested interest rather than an ontological feature of the social world.

I have shown throughout this thesis that child sexual abuse can not be captured by simplifying heuristics, since this is to both singularise and oversimplify the complexities of this discursive arena, and that such oversimplification may, ultimately, be counter productive (Grady, 1983). My argument is that we need to think about child sexual abuse in new ways. As adult/child sexual activity is neither a unitary activity nor experience, it cannot be assumed under a generic label. Adult/child sexual activity is a manifold that requires manifold ways of looking at and assessing our perceptions of what is going on.

The forms of action we take in this area must reflect the complexities of the phenomenon. That said, the task of adjudication over the various truth claims that are made is by no means an easy or straightforward one. This is because the judgements that we make over appropriate forms of conduct, as was shown in the previous section, do not reflect neutral judgements and assessments of what to do.

Methodology

As 'the world out there' neither shows itself completely nor speaks to us directly, there will always be, what Parker (1999) refers to as an 'interpretative gap' between representations of the world (which include all our observations and constructions of behaviour and feelings) and the things themselves. In methodological terms, there will always be a gap between the meanings that appear in a research setting and the account written in the report of the findings. Whilst being problematic for the genre of positivist research, this 'gap' is acknowledged in the research described in this thesis.

Drawing upon the earlier work of Woolgar (1988), Parker (1999) and Banister *et al* (1994) it is possible to identify three forms of interpretative gap namely, indexicality, inconcludability and reflexivity. These they refer to as 'methodological horrors' so called because they give rise to irresolvable tensions within positivist research.

Banister *et al* (1994) and Parker (1999) argue that the first of these interpretative gaps – *indexicality* – reminds us that an explanation is always-ever glued to the circumstances and contexts in which it is used. Words, phrases and complete accounts are never context free, and can only be made sense of in relation to the specific, socially situated, occasions of their use. In Chapter 3 I attempted to provide a framework for the indexicality of my approach by arguing that 'child sexual abuse' shows itself through highly contextualised ways of thinking about it as a problem. My choice of methods, the settings in which they were applied and the accounts that were so derived also reflected this indexicality. Hence, the claims made about each of these accounts were minimal. That is, rather than aspiring to have uncovered some deep universal Truth contained within them, the accounts explicated in this thesis were treated as local, highly context specific and provisional. Thus positivist concerns over the universality and replicability was replaced with recognition of the specificity and the location of accounts in time and space (cf. Banister, 1994; Parker, 1999).

The second interpretative gap - *inconcludability* - draws attention to the way that a complete description of a phenomenon is never possible. There is always, as Banister *et al*, 1994 and Parker, 1999 argue, more that could be said, always a further layer of theoretical and meta-theoretical reflection that could be added, and that the account that is given will mutate as more is added to it.

This notion of inconcludability can be extended further and linked to that of indexicality. With positivist research, decisions about how much and what type of analysis in which to engage are a built-in feature of an approach based on *a priori*

views about the Truth, where Truth may be found and the methods that are to be used to access it. Once the Truth is found, according to the assumptions of this approach, a convenient line can then be drawn under the analysis, as there is nothing further that needs to be added or said.

The picture to emerge from critical polytextualist research like mine, however, is not quite so straightforward. It makes explicit the decisions made about the research process that are obscured yet nonetheless always present in positivist forms of enquiry. In the Introduction to Section 2, I described some of these decisions in relation to the development of the Q sets. My argument there was that the decisions made about which items to include were informed by the earlier fieldwork stages of the research and assisted by what was salient to the pilot testers. These decisions were also driven by my theoretical approach, the research questions I wished to address and the practical demands of the sorting task itself. The items used in the final versions of Q Sets did not, therefore, represent idealised domains – reproduced in microcosm – which included everything that is or could be said about adult/child sex. Instead it was a best estimate of what was salient at the time and place of their preparation. Hence the Q Sets were indexical to the extent that they were tied to context of their development, and inconcludable in the sense that I could have continued to change, remove or add different items. A similar point can be made in relation to the selection of participants to complete the Q sorts.

The sorting task itself required that that participants made orderly patterns out of a set of ‘disordered’ statements by anchoring these to the discursive positions on adult/child sex that they wished to express. These views can be said to be indexical, in that had the same items been sorted at a different time or in a different place, or had the participants been asked to express their views on adult/child sex in an entirely different context (informally to a friend or in an interview for example), then it is perfectly possible that the account to emerge would have been different. It is also

arguably the case that, in relation to completing the Q sort, the participants may have felt that there was more that could have said about the views they chose to express. However, this does not – as it would in a positivist paradigm – mean that the Q set is ‘unreliable’. What a Q study seeks to identify are the different accounts in play and not any individual’s specific views. Thus, while a participant may express different accounts in different circumstances on different occasions, this is irrelevant. What is at stake is identifying the different accounts. So long as the Q-set enables this to happen, it can be said to ‘work’, in terms of the purpose for which it is being used.

With the studies reported in Chapter 7, I made the explicit decision to move beyond the ways in which adult/child sex is put into discourse by persons in culture to focus upon the performative aspects of the phenomenon. I did this by examining a range of subject positions that were available to be adopted, resisted or reformed. The data obtained from the observations and interviews conducted for this aspect of the research did not point to the type of analysis that should be conducted or to a point of closure of this analysis. Instead these decisions were based on the bounds of the research I had prescribed (cf. Banister *et al*, 1994) and the point of closure I had imposed. Not only were the accounts given in this thesis indexical in the sense that they were tied to the context of their articulation, they were also inconcludable in that I could have set different bounds for the research which would have led to a different analysis or more could have been said about the accounts I chose to include.

This also raises issues about what was excluded from the research. In chapter 2 I discussed the implications that my methodological approach had for recording the accounts given in the various settings in which my research was conducted and the attendant amount of data that were ‘lost’ as a result. It was also the case that the way in which I chose to write-up this thesis up meant that I had to select what I recorded, which undoubtedly reflected my own conceptions and subject investments in the research.

The way in which the researcher's conceptions and subjective investments draws attention to certain aspects of the research and leads them to disregard others is covered by Banister *et al* (1994) and Parker's (1999) third and final interpretation gap – reflexivity. They also state that any serious consideration of reflexivity should do more than assert that the ways in which a question is theorised affects the way in which it is examined and explicated. Parker (1999) comments that reflexivity should also make explicit the ways in which the subjectivity of the researcher is located within the same field of experience as the researched; and how this affects what can be said about the research as well as the forms of agency that are facilitated and blocked in the process (Parker, 1999). This, I have tried to do throughout the thesis and will not rehearse again here.

Whilst Parker (1999) argues that this activity of thinking back and around an issue, as well as situating oneself within it, is a valuable and necessary part of deconstructive work, he also states that reflexivity can also be a passive contemplative enterprise that all too often succeeds in paralysing researchers as they struggle to take responsibility for a painful and troubling set of circumstances. For him, the way out of this situation is to engage in a process of critical reflection, which he defines as an 'active rebellious practice that drives individuals into action they identify the exercise of power that pins them into place and the fault lines for the production of spaces of resistance' (*op cit*, 1999: 31). Below I will attempt to engage in such a process of critical reflection.

Methodological plurality

My choice of methods used in this thesis was informed by three main ideas coming out of a critical polytextualist stance. The first is that a 'body of knowledge consists of fragments of understanding, not a system of logically integrated statements' (Polkinghorne, 1997: 147). The second is that no method can offer the guarantee to

yield a testimony of truth (cf. Polkinghorne, 1997; Curt, 1994). Finally the methods I used acknowledge that 'patterns of human activity largely revolve around discourse; discourse serves as perhaps the critical medium through which relationships are carried out' (Gergen, 1992: 26). Given that adult/child sex is 'put into discourse' by a weave of notions organized around rights, sexuality, power and protection (see, for example, Chapter 3) it would be anomalous, given my position, 'to say that only one research method is appropriate' (Potter, 1997:57) or adequate for the tasks I set myself in this thesis. In order to investigate the discursive plurality of adult/child sex and to reflect the nuanced character of knowing in this area, I therefore adopted a range of methodologies (discussed in Chapter 2) and a shifting 'contextual lens' (Condor, 1997).

This adoption of a combination of methodological plurality and a shifting contextual lens (i.e. gathering accounts from a range of settings) enabled me to move between discourses and discursive positions of various kinds in order to examine the nuanced character of these texts. In other words, it allowed me to 'follow the folds' (cf. Worrell and Lee, 1995) or 'plications' (cf. Chapter 2) in this area in order to explicate different facets of the ways in which adult/child sex 'shows itself' in these different contexts and the plurality of stories that are available to, and drawn upon, by persons-in-culture.

The methods used each directed attention to different ways of understanding adult/child sex and were used to different ends in the research. The genealogical/tectonic study in Chapter 3, for example, provided an account of the way in which the mainstream child sexual abuse discourse has been moulded and shaped by a number of other discourses over time and place. The 'informal conversations' addressed the issue of how adult/child sex was spoken about in 'everyday contexts' outside of a formal research setting. The sorting-task-led interviews were concerned with the debates that take place between people on the subject. The Q Methodological study – where what was expressed was salient for participants at the time of sorting a

set of items in relation to adult/child sex – and how the accounts, so fashioned, differed from, or were intertextual with the accounts given by others taking part in the study. Finally the studies reported in Chapter 7 highlighted the performative aspects of the mainstream child sexual abuse discourse, in terms the investments that people made in being survivors of sexual abuse, reformed child sexual abusers or through strategies of resistance by presenting themselves as advocates of adult/child sex.

In light of the discursive complexity – both in terms of adult/child sex and the accounts that are given in relation to it – it would be disingenuous to suggest that there can be some methodological unity, one where all of the approaches used somehow seamlessly fit together to present a coherent picture of child sexual abuse. Rather than claiming some fictive methodological unity, the claims I make about my multi-method approach are more minimal. The methodological approaches I adopted in this thesis each directed attention to the stated aim of examining the various ways in which the term ‘child sexual abuse’ is put into discourse in this culture at this particular time (cf. Parton *et al*, 1997). It also enabled me to consider a number of the ways that are available to speak of adult/child sex that could not have otherwise been achieved with one method in isolation or in a single setting. My approach was also self-conscious about the methodological gaps (c.f. Banister *et al*, 1994; Parker, 1999) in my analysis as well as the limitations of each approach so deployed (which is considered in detail in Chapter 2). My approach did, however, raise a number of difficult methodological questions and issues that I will attempt to address in the following sections.

Giving a voice?

The aim of seeking to include a wide variety of voices in a piece of research not only raised issues of the factors which shaped and determined the boundaries of the

research (see Chapter 2), it also raised issues of how to narrate the voices of others and what claims can be made in the process.

Research of this kind, which explicitly draws upon subjugated voices, is usually seen to be emancipatory (exemplified by Sampson, 1993) in that it 'celebrates the Other'. Sampson calls for a democratisation of the research process, where researchers speak on behalf of other groups and where the Otherness of these groups is celebrated. In my work I make no such claims to have granted a voice to and emancipated the disenfranchised. Rather my aspiration has been more minimal – to simply seek to be (somewhat) more inclusive in the methods I have used in order to be able to explicate the ways in which a wide range of different persons-in-culture express a range of views on the subject of adult/child sex and to set these views in the context of the questions I sought to address. This has not been a matter of claiming to speak on behalf of the 'Other', but is about text and meaning-making through rhetoric, debate, discursive positioning, and its implicatedness in constructing the possibilities and material practices of that world. As such the accounts that were given were not treated in any simplistic, face-value way but were examined in terms of how they could be *deployed* – used to do particular things.

For example, in Chapter 7, when I looked at how offenders were adopting a 'reformed character' subject position, I did not seek to 'give them a voice'. Rather I sought to explicate how they were able to achieve this and what were its intended and unintended outcomes. Also in that Chapter, I was looking at *how* Andrew was able to advocate a 'boy-love' position on adult/child sex. In so doing I was certainly not seeking to 'celebrate' his Otherness or to do anything to redress the deviant status that his views accorded him. Rather I was seeking to scrutinise what discursive resources he could call upon to legitimate this position, and how he was able to deploy them to do so. And again in Chapter 7, when I observed how 'survivors' of sexual abuse sought to highlight the harmful nature of child sexual abuse while, at the

same time, refusing to accept the subject position of 'damaged goods', I was in no way aspiring to emancipate them – to do so would, in my view, have been patronising. Rather I wanted to find out about what this was intended to achieve and what ideological position it allowed the 'survivors' to adopt.

In each case, for obvious ethical reasons (albeit different ones in each of these illustrations), I saw it as in no way my job, as researcher, to 'give voice' to the discourses being deployed, or to 'empower' the subject positions thereby opened up. It is on this basis that I have made no claims for my research to be 'emancipatory'. In my view this is not what I should be doing. A more minimalist aspiration is, in my mind, much more appropriate – that is, to seek to open up to scrutiny, in each case, how particular forms of discursive deployment may *work* and what their consequences may be. Achieving this, I believe, is not just 'interesting' (in a scholarly sense), it is useful (in a pragmatic sense). By gaining insight into how discursive labour may work and what it can achieve, we will be in a better position to make moral judgements about 'what is going on', and about the material consequences for children.

Sampson (1993) also argues that the research process should be viewed as a collaborative venture between researcher and researched. In some respects my research could be viewed along these lines. I sought to involve participants at each stage, and derive my readings in concert with those who participated in the research. This was particularly the case with the Q methodological study reported in Chapters 4-6. Participants were involved in the production of items and pilot testers in the selection of items and the editorial decisions that were made about their wording.

However, even Sampson's calls for 'collaboration' are, in my view, problematic. It implies that the power inequalities between the researcher and their research subjects can somehow be overcome. I do not believe this is possible. It was ultimately the

case with my work, as, I believe, it is with all research, that the final decisions about the items and how they should be presented were mine.

The work presented here might even be described by some as 'democratic' in the sense that it included a range of voices, some of which, in Foucauldian terms, are 'subjugated' or are only listened to in highly particularised ways (e.g. within the context of therapy in the case of survivors or treatment in the case of child sex offenders). These voices were included not because I assumed I could speak on their behalf (or wanted to in some cases) but on the basis that they were more inclusive of the views to be found among a diversity of persons-in-culture. Additionally, whilst there has been much written about celebrating the subjectivities, difference and otherness of marginalised groups, this appeal tends, in my view, to be both selective and sometimes disingenuous. It tends to be only applied to the subjectivities 'we like': those of women, people with disabilities and exotic Others, for an example. It is not so readily applied to subjectivities 'we don't like': such as child sex offenders or paedophiles. With these voices the approach usually taken is deconstructive and critical. In other words, researchers tend to be highly partial in what they *do* with the texts they scrutinise. They 'celebrate' the ones of which they approve. But they seek to expose the rhetorical 'tricks' by which the ones they disapprove are able to 'pull the wool over our eyes'. They seek to 'give voice to' the former, and to stifle the latter. As Condor argues

...we unpick the rhetorical tricks of Tory politicians, but not socialist ones; we scrutinize health-care literature aimed at women but not at feminist texts. We map the language of racism- but not anti-racism...we tend to be highly selective about which voices we allow to speak for themselves (Condor, 1997: 126 and 123).

My attempt to examine the subjectivities I like as well as those I do not, and to subject them *all* to critical scrutiny, is, according to Condor, relatively uncommon.

My research may also appear to be 'democratic' in the sense that participants were given the opportunity to see which extracts of their talk I intended to use in the write up of the findings; and, in the case of the Q Methodological study, because I invited them to comment on drafts of my explication of the factors. This is not however as 'democratic' as it might appear. The drafts that participants had been given to comment upon may have been 'alien' to them, in the sense that 'the genres we use when producing academic texts and research articles are clearly different to those used by the research participants in producing their own accounts' (Condor, 1997:119). I was thus still engaged in the process of re-packaging and re-presenting their words and views. This process of narrating the texts of others, Squires (1990) argues, inevitably forms a new narrative.

Re-writing narratives?

The formation of these 'new narratives' (i.e. those formed through the process of research as opposed to those which are un-or dis-covered in a modernist sense) presents serious problems for those forms of research which claim to capture unmediated examples of 'naturally occurring' talk – in the sense that they existed prior to the operations of the research and can be decoded or interpreted in a way that is detached from the researcher. This, far from being a problem for the critical polytextualist researcher, is considered to be an axiomatic feature of such research.

As Hawes puts it:

...human attempts to describe the experience of other humans necessarily involve reflexivity, in that we are using the very human historically-located processes that we are trying to understand. ...We cannot remove ourselves from an equation in which we are a part. Rather, our own enculturated processes of interpretation need to be embraced as both the objects and mediators of our investigations (*ibid*, 1998: 99).

The texts I gathered and chose to use for this thesis, as well as my reading of them, were all implicated in the work of reality-construction (see Chapter 2). The work

reported here reflects the constructed nature of the research process itself, and the choices I had made about it. This is a joint process of construction between researcher and researched and is as much imbued with my own assumptions of the social world as it is with the assumptions of the social world I sought to investigate (cf. Parker, 1999).

Throughout my research I was self-conscious about the ways in which my very presence in the settings I investigated had an impact on the views that were expressed and the indexicality of such views. It was clear, for example, that the advocates of 'boy-love' who took part in this research were shaping their accounts in light of the context they were expressing them in. Had they been speaking to each other, to a therapist, journalist or law official it is highly likely that the accounts they offered would have been different.

To be more specific, Andrew, gave his accounts of 'boy-love' in a situation where he knew that anything he said which caused me concern about his actions towards a child would be immediately reported to the police. In a similar vein, members of the self-help groups I observed (for survivors of sexual abuse and mothers of sexually abused children) may have made (conscious or unconscious) decisions to talk about particular issues in detail in order to ensure that these issues were discussed in my research. It also the case that how and what I chose to record was influenced by my own subject positionings at a number of levels (as a Black-British woman, as a researcher, as critical polytextualist, as someone who holds a particular set of views about adult/child sex). What this amounts to, therefore, is these 'new narratives' are not only worthy of study and critical scrutiny in their own right, they are *all* that can be studied.

Reading texts

The question of new narratives does however raise the problem of how to read and present the texts that are generated through the process of the research. With the Q Methodological studies, although my readings of the accounts were driven by the comments that were made by the participants (at the time of completing their Q sorts, in their written comments in relation to the items, or afterwards during a review of the factor), in some cases this was easier to do than in others. In situations where participants chose to comment less fully on the Q sort items, my readings were more tentative and based upon my understanding of the story being told through the patterning of items (this was made explicit in the relevant chapters). Other accounts may have been easier to narrate because the participants commented more fully, because the stories that were being told were more familiar to me (e.g. in the case of the feminist-informed accounts), or even because the account that was given approximated my own preferred readings of adult/child sex (e.g. the *Social Constructionist/ Children's Rights* account).

Rather than claiming a neutral, a-contextual voice that comes from 'nowhere' (c.f. Potter, 1997) I attempted to make my readings of the texts open to re-reading and critical scrutiny. By both taking part in the Q study, and considering my construals alongside those I researched, any 'authorial' reading that was made was rendered visible. I also included the sorting patterns and other relevant materials that informed my readings. Throughout the process of conducting this research, the texts that were chosen for 'reading' were done so on the basis of explicit decisions that I made about the research rather than through appeals to an pseudo-autonomous process, where themes are presented as 'emerging' from the text (Kitzinger, 1987). This did not involve adopting a censorious approach, however, and excluding those accounts I did not like, but, rather, 'owning up' to my 'dislike' in my interpretation of the accounts and my examination of their implications. Whilst rendering any account or explanation

incomplete and therefore untenable in positivist terms, the notion of inconcludability provides a 'space for the reader to bring their own understanding of the issue to bear on the text' (Banister *et al*, 1994: 12).

Investments in the research process

The methods I chose to adopt each demanded a different type of investment from those who took part. With the Q methodological study, the major issue was an investment in terms of the time that the participants were required to spend in order to complete the sorting task. This may have, arguably, influenced the number and type of completed Q-sorts that I was able to collect. Perhaps it was the case that those who took the time to complete the procedure were those who had a vested interest in having their voice heard (e.g. those who advocate 'boy-love', feminist practitioners and scholars and those working in child protection). Alternatively, this technique may have only been available to those who had the time, physical space, and/or other resources to complete the study and hence it may have excluded the voices of those who did not. This is offset by the fact that I did not use Q Methodology in isolation (see Chapter 2) but adopted a range of methods, and is one of the reasons why I chose to use a diversity of methods.

My research approach also made demands on another level. In terms of the observations I conducted (with mothers of sexually abused children, survivors and convicted sex offenders) having an observer in the group undoubtedly affected the trajectory of the group process itself. With the self-help group for survivors of sexual abuse, for example, whilst my presence was carefully negotiated with every member of the group, I was acutely aware that it took several months before they were able to both feel comfortable with my presence and were able to speak candidly about the issues affecting their lives. With the mothers of sexually abused children, the aim of giving each other support was arguably somewhat diverted, by my presence, to

explaining their position in relation to abuse that their children had experienced. In HMP Grendon, it is feasible that the Psycho-Educational Therapy course facilitators felt that that my presence disrupted the flow of their work with the offenders – although none expressed this view at any time. The offenders themselves may have also become preoccupied with convincing me that they were ‘reformed’ characters rather than focusing upon the aims and objectives of particular sessions. It could be argued with all of these examples that those who had participated in my research made an enormous investment in the process. Although, in each case, it was difficult to assess how and to what extent the process of participating in my research encroached on their lives (cf. Lee, 1993), what is clear is that encroach it did.

Personal implications

Although every aspect of the research I conducted is shot-through with personal implications, I will attempt to disentangle a few here.

Whilst I attempted to be always in tune to the power relations between researcher and researched, I soon realised that these relations were neither straightforward nor uni-directional. My discursive positioning as researcher undoubtedly influenced the research process at every stage, especially the range and type of accounts that were given. On the one hand it provided me opportunities to gain access to settings and to talk to people about adult/child sex that arguably may not have been granted to non-academics or even non-psychologists. On the other hand it potentially shaped the nature of the accounts that were given in the ways that I described earlier.

Being a woman (and perhaps a psychologist) enabled me to gain access to a range of settings for which it would, arguably, have been much more difficult for a man to gain access (the two women's self help groups, for example). It may have also been the case that if a man were conducting research along similar lines to mine, his motives would have been much more open to question. Even so, my engagement in these

settings was subject to implicit and explicit expectations that I should 'tow the party line' inherent in the mainstream child sexual abuse discourse. Many of the women (and some of the men) I came into contact with assumed that my research should take an explicitly feminist line. It was also assumed by a number of the participants with whom I worked closely that my research would speak on their behalf. Whilst I tackled this issue in theoretical terms in the previous section, dealing with them on an interpersonal level was more difficult.

For example, the long periods of time over which my observations were conducted with the self-help group for survivors of sexual abuse, the trust that the group members placed in me, and the fact that I participated in the group sessions I observed (see Chapter 7), made it extremely difficult to prevent a blurring together of a close working relationship with what may have been read as a 'friendship'. Many of the group members wanted contact outside of the group setting, or invited me to various events that were planned for and by the group. Unlike the situation in HMP Grendon, where I was able to maintain a personal distance from the offenders when I attended their social evenings, I felt that my attendance at the events planned by the self-help group would be more difficult to achieve. Hence I declined these invitations. I did attempt, however, to 'give something back' to the group in other ways. For a long time after I collected my data I acted as a conduit, passing information that I received about conferences, events, newsletters or other groups on. I helped to edit the group's newsletter and invited people whom I thought would be interested to the events they planned. I also remained in contact and visited the group long after I had formally completed the 'data collection' for this thesis.

With Andrew (and the other self-declared 'boy-lovers' who took part in the research) the issues were quite different. I stated in Chapter 2 and again in Chapter 7, Andrew's express motivation to his involvement in my research was that he wanted to convey the 'boy love' account of adult/child sex to a wider audience. His participation arose

from an approach *he made* to an academic colleague. My reasons for including such views were, of course, entirely different. Our differing expectations were made clear from the outset. I also made sure that Andrew was aware that he was always speaking to me within a context that might invite interventions of various kinds (not least from a contact I had made in the vice squad at New Scotland Yard). Nevertheless, my contact with Andrew – and, via him, with other proponents of ‘boy love’ – still made me feel very uncomfortable. I had anxieties that they might still have residual expectations that my research would in some way speak on their behalf or that I might in some way condone their views.

Another difficulty to arise in relation to the inclusion of first hand ‘boy-love’ accounts in this research would be how, or whether to, disclose this aspect of my research to other participants in the study, family and to friends. In the end I decided to be open about all aspects of my research, but this was not without personal cost. Acknowledging that I have conducted work in a prison setting with convicted offenders has been problematic but ‘acceptable’ – in a way that talking to unconvicted paedophiles on their views on ‘boy-love’ has not.

Being a Black woman conducting research in this area also raised a number of issues. As there is a paucity of literature that addresses sexual abuse in ethnic minority communities in Britain (and elsewhere), many people felt that my research in this field presented an opportunity to foreground issues of ‘race’. Whilst issues of ‘race’ and culture are reflected in my research and underpin my thinking (not least because I am Black), I was also clear that I did not want to re-produce the situation where it is assumed that Black academics can only research into and talk about race and culture. Neither did I want to contribute to a situation described by Phoenix, 1987 (herself a Black academic) where when race tends to be unmarked then Whiteness is assumed; and when race is marked, then Blackness is pathologised.

Taking responsibility and the risks of deconstructing child sexual abuse

Whilst in many respects it would have been 'safer' to fall into the lure of offering a conventional positivist inquiry into this field, the critical polytextualist approach I have adopted in this thesis (read through Curt and Foucault) has allowed me to examine the 'webs of significance' (Geertz, 1973) that constitute and fashion the contemporary adult/child sex discursive manifold. In the previous section I described in the ways in which my inquiry into adult/child sex was not without its implications at a personal level. Not least of these have been the implications for me of disturbing the moral imperative that pressurises us to talk about adult-child sex in certain socially sanctioned ways. Shotter has referred to this process as 'social accountability'. His argument is that:

we must talk only in certain already established ways, in order to meet the demands placed upon us by our need to sustain our status as responsible members of our society – where the 'must' involved is a moral must. (*ibid*, 1989:140-141).

Shotter's argument relates to the creation and sustaining of social orders through the legitimised, already-established, ways in which a person can account for their own conduct and, crucially, the ways in which they are allowed to interrogate the conduct of others. So, in order to be accepted as a 'responsible researcher' who takes the sexual abuse of children seriously, one's commitment should be demonstrated by speaking of adult/child sex in particular ways. In this case this reflects the tenets of the mainstream approach to child sexual abuse. In approaching my work in a critical polytextualist way is to disrupt received notions of how research in this area should be conducted.

Certainly questioning the construction of the mainstream child sexual abuse discourse (as opposed, say, to taking this for granted and doing an orthodox thesis which

involves quantifying the amount or the effects of abuse) is not a popular path to follow. This can be evidenced by the fact that there is very little current scholarship in this field which deviates from this mainstream 'party line' (informed by feminism, child protection and/or positivist epistemologies). In Foucauldian terms, the discursive arena of adult/child sex represents a particularly dense transfer point for power/knowledge, not only in terms of conduct but also the ways in which that conduct is spoken about. The lack of conceptual inquiry in this area is not that surprising, however, when one considers that to do so poses certain risks. In conducting this work, I recognise that to disrupt received notions of adult/child sex is likely to raise hackles and even, in some people's eyes, to court notoriety.

Conclusion

My explication of the discourses and discursive positions has shown that despite the dominance of the mainstream approach, that the sexual abuse of children is not currently viewed as a singularity. Neither is it the case that there is a single discursive position that captures all of its facets or features, as the phenomenon of adult/child sex refuses to be fitted into a singular framework. Furthermore these discourses and discursive positions do not provide neutral and transparent descriptions of a pre-figured reality, with which everyone agrees. Instead they provide an 'understanding' in and of themselves.

By refusing to treat it as a singularity this thesis has not made the concept of child sexual abuse redundant. Furthermore, to say that child sexual abuse only exists within certain knowledge regimes is not to deny the seriousness or the material effects of the abuse. What it does do, however, is to signal that it is problematic and in need of deconstructive work. That deconstructive work may eventually lead to the production of a different way of talking, 'of making sense of who we are or what we are doing' (Davies, 1998: 139). By adopting this approach I have been able to show,

however, that the 'problem' raises a number of complicated and highly contingent questions that are unanswerable in any absolute sense, since they cannot be abstracted from the moral, ideological and discursive practices which 'knowledge them into being' (cf. Curt, 1994).

Seeking to explicate alternative readings is to examine the different ways in which people are positioned and position themselves within the regimes of truth in operation, and the attendant implications this has for legitimate forms of conduct. This regulatory gaze of the child sexual abuse discourse extends beyond those who are identified as 'abusers' and their 'victims'. It can, for example, pathologise a great deal of teenage sexual behaviour (Stainton Rogers and Stainton Rogers, 1999) and may undermine the kinds of support that an adult can offer a child in distress. These down-side costs have been largely unexplored, so preoccupied have we become with the discourses of danger and damage. There are some exceptions. Stainton Rogers and Stainton Rogers make the point, for example, that:

to embark on a crusading quest for villains is to operate within a chimeral fairy-tale world in which, once the brave knight has slain the dragon, children can all live 'happily ever after'. ... What this boils down to is a recognition that heroic 'child-saving' and villainous 'child mistreatment' are not two different kinds of action, with opposing mandates (to work for the good or bad of children). They are two alternative facets, or readings, of virtually any kind of conduct towards children. (*ibid*, 1992: 191)

Thus rather than being a nihilistic abandonment of the concept of 'child sexual abuse' my approach urges us 'to think differently about how we think' (Lather, 1989) about child sexual abuse.

Whilst we have inherited the concept of child sexual abuse as a series of complications, moralities and implications which cannot be re-fashioned overnight, what we can do is to develop and refine our approaches to the issue in ways that take on board these complexities and multiplicities. This, in my view, will enable us to do a better job of making the changes that are needed to develop a set of responses which

are more open to multiple possibilities for 'better childhoods' (Stainton Rogers and Stainton Rogers, 1992). For me, part of this challenge involves emancipating children whilst ensuring they are adequately protected. This view is eloquently reflected by Morey who states that:

there is a danger in succumbing to politically motivated demands to limit intellectual work to topics, methods or interpretations which any power group has defined as correct and allowable. That danger is to refuse to explore and expand the boundaries of current knowledge and understanding, as if there is only one truth. The danger is also that we turn away from the kinds of insight which are necessary for transforming existing social structures. (*ibid*, 1992:119)

What is needed, according to Gergen, therefore are

Scholars willing to be audacious, to break the barriers of common sense by offering new forms of theory, of interpretation, of intelligibility' (Gergen, 1992: 27)

Gergen's argument is that conventional thought needs to be unsettled, thereby opening up new alternatives for thought and action. If we are to work for 'better childhoods' then this will not be achieved through passively adopting the 'party line' over child sexual abuse, however much this might be the safer course of action. I leave the (almost) last word to the late Rex Stainton Rogers, to whom this thesis is dedicated:

That we no longer hang children, burn them as witches or brand them as vagrants is not the victory of a few reformers, it is the victory of a whole society which has overcome the constructions that made such actions possible. The killings and maimings of children that our society still generates can also be consigned to the history book – by the same processes that have made possible the worlds in which we still live. (Stainton Rogers, R., 1989: 29).

If we are to serve children better – both those who have been sexually exploited and those who have not – then this will only be achieved through having the courage to stop treating them as merely the passive objects of adult conduct. This thesis has been crafted in pursuit of this aim.

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APPENDICES : TABLE OF CONTENTS

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APPENDIX I:

**Details of courses and conferences attended during the
fieldwork phase of the research**

SHORT COURSES AND CONFERENCES ATTENDED

Conferences

The Polytechnic of North London, 13th December 1991, *Towards A Feminist Understanding and Approach to Organised Sexual Abuse*, Child Abuse Studies Unit

Centre for Independent Research, Training & Consultancy from a Feminist Perspective, 4th November 1991, *A Child Centred Approach to Joint Investigations: Managing the Contradictions*, Child Abuse Studies Unit

Polytechnic of North London, 13th December 1991, *Towards a Feminist Understanding and Approach to Organised Abuse*, Centre for Independent Research, Training & Consultancy from a Feminist Perspective, Child Abuse Studies Unit

Regents College, 29th March 1990, *Working with the Sexual Offender: Issues for Policy and Training – Prevention and Treatment*, The Suzy Lamplugh Trust

University of Sussex, 21st November 1990, *Inaugural Meeting*, British Association for the Study & Prevention of Child Abuse & Neglect

Bradford, 15th-17th May 1991, *Victim or Offender Part I*, British Association for the Study & Prevention of Child Abuse & Neglect

Bradford, 4th-5th July 1991, *Victim or Offender Part II*, British Association for the Study & Prevention of Child Abuse & Neglect

University of Leicester, 16th-19th September 1991, '*Turning Research into Practice*': *First National Congress*, British Association for the Study & Prevention of Child Abuse & Neglect

York, 20th-22nd April 1993, *Spring Conference*, British Association for the Study & Prevention of Child Abuse & Neglect

Hamburg, 2nd-6th September 1990, 8th *International Congress on Child Abuse & Neglect*, ISPCAN

London, *Protecting Children through Working with Child Sexual Abuse Offenders*, NSPCC

Kensington Town Hall - London, 19th-22nd March 1990, *Child Health – Building for the Future: 3rd International Child Health Congress*, Nursing Times

Wesley House - London, 13th January 1990, *Challenging the Professional Takeover: Taking Back Control of the Issues*, Feminist Coalition Against Child Sexual Assault

St George's Hospital Medical School – University of London, 7th-8th March 1991, *Perspectives on Female Violence*, The Conference Unit for The Section of Forensic Psychiatry

Lancaster University, 21st September 1991, *Adolescent Sex Offenders*, The Regional Offender Treatment Organisation

Workshop and training days

Centre for Independent Research, Training & Consultancy from a Feminist Perspective, 29th November 1991, *Working with Mothers of Children who have been Sexually Abused*, Child Abuse Studies Unit

London, 12th January 1990, *BSA Women's Caucus Violence against Women Group*, British Sociology Association

London, 9th October 1990, *Child Sexual Abuse: Practical Methods in Working with Perpetrators*, SCOSAC

London, 30th November 1990, *Gaining from the "Knowledge": Using Research to Enhance Practice*, SCOSAC

London, 13th May 1991, *Working with Adolescent Perpetrators of Child Sexual Abuse*, SCOSAC

London, 1st July 1991, *Child Sexual Abuse: Assessing Suspicion while Empowering the Mother*, SCOSAC

London, 10th December 1991, *A Feminist Approach to Child Sexual Abuse by Women*, SCOSAC

Leicester, 11th-13th September 1991, *Protection, Control, Treatment: Assessing and Treating Child Sexual Abuse Perpetrators*, NSPCC

Appendix II

Examples of handouts used on the Psycho-Educational Programme at HMP Grendon

PSYCHOEDUCATIONAL THERAPY

Educational Therapy addresses both the cognitive domain and the affective. The dynamics of educational therapy lead to the recognition of incongruity, denying attitudes; contradictions; patterns of psycho-sexual responses; unstable forms of emotional reactions; susceptibilities; and lead to challenging cognitive disorders. Educational therapy is a structured motivational exercise to learn new processes and methods; deliberate efforts of goal modification; develop and practice skills and introduce responsible self discipline.

Concurrently, the psychotherapy is reconstructive via unlearning former response patterns; reversing deviant and repetitive behaviors; providing insight into subconscious conflicts; decoding subliminal messages; confronting attitudes of avoidance, denial and negativism; re-interpreting perceived rejections; re-examining commissions as well as omissions.

Together, psychotherapy and educational therapy concertedly foster the acquisition of self awareness through new insights, information and knowledge of the self which enable the participant to unlearn maladaptive response patterns, learn new ones and implement advantageous change.

ASSERTIVENESS

'Behaviour which enables a person to act in his or her own best interest, to stand up for herself without undue anxiety, to express honest feelings comfortably or to exercise personal rights without denying the rights of others.'

10 Key points about ASSERTIVE Behaviour

1. Self-expressive.
2. Honest.
3. Direct.
4. Self-enhancing.
5. Not hurtful to others.
6. Partially composed of the content of the message (feelings, rights, facts, opinions, requests, limits).
7. Partially composed of the non-verbal style of the message (eye contact, voice, posture, facial expression, gestures, body distance, timing, fluency, listening).
8. Appropriate for the person and the situation, rather than universal.
9. Socially responsible.
10. A combination of learned skills, not an inborn trait.

Taken from ' Your Perfect Right' by R.E.Alberti and M.L.Emmons

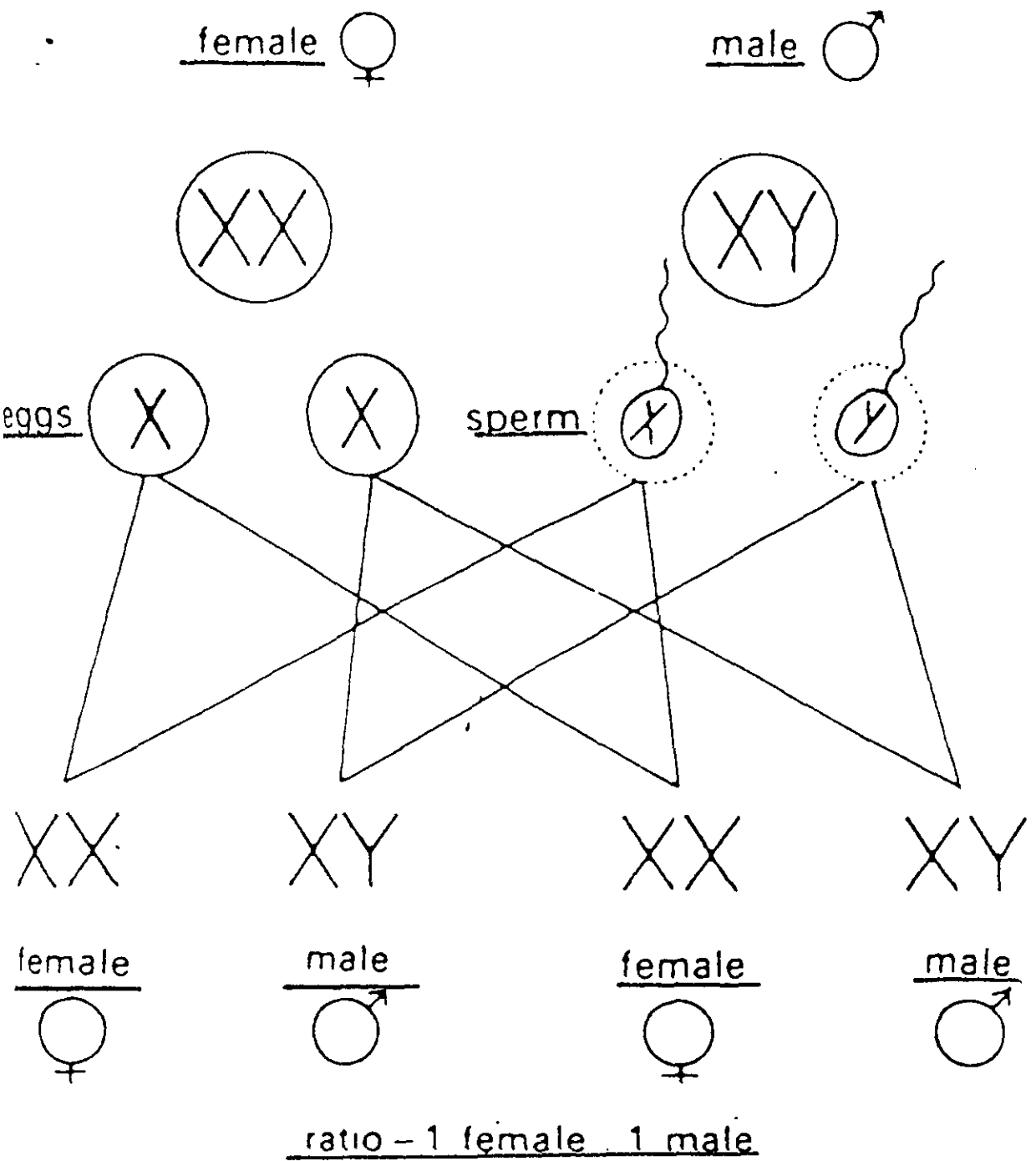


Figure 4 Diagram showing how sex is decided in
man.

WHAT WOMEN & MEN LOOKED FOR IN EACH OTHER

WOMEN	MEN
A CARING PERSON	1 BEAUTIFUL LOOKING
AMUSING	2 A GOOD LOVER
HANDSOME	3 A CARING PERSON
INTELLIGENCE	4 A GOOD COOK
A GOOD LOVER	5 A GOOD DRESSER

WHAT TYPES OF WOMEN ARE ATTRACTED TO CERTAIN TYPES OF MEN

SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES

MEN	WOMEN
The sporting reader type	1 Ample breasted women.
The guy who is religious	2 Preferred women with less on
submissive type	top.
The guilt prone obsessed	3 Preferred the woman with the
type	the more fuller figure.
The persevering energetic	4 Preferred the small bottomed
type	woman.
The inhibited shy man	5 Preferred a woman with long
	legs.
The extroverted sociable	6 Preferred the woman with
type	short legs.

WOMEN	MEN
The nervous women preferred	1 The skinny type of men.
The conservative, mature	2 Preferred larger types of
woman	men.
The clean living extroverted	3 Preferred the classical V
woman	shaped man.
The conventional intelligent	4 Preferred the mildly over
woman	weight man.
The religious woman	5 She preferred the skinny men.
The liberated type of woman	6 Preferred Men with the
	average physique.

WHAT WOMEN & MEN LOOKED FOR IN EACH OTHER

WOMEN	MEN
1 A CARING PERSON	1 BEAUTIFUL LOOKING
2 AMUSING	2 A GOOD LOVER
3 HANDSOME	3 A CARING PERSON
4 INTELLIGENCE	4 A GOOD COOK
5 A GOOD LOVER	5 A GOOD DRESSER

WHAT TYPES OF WOMEN ARE ATTRACTED TO CERTAIN TYPES OF MEN

SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES

MEN	WOMEN
1 The sporting reader type	1 Ample breasted women.
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WOMEN	MEN
1 The nervous women preferred	1 The skinny type of men.
2 The conservative, mature woman	2 Preferred larger types of men.
3 The clean living extroverted woman	3 Preferred the classical V shaped man.
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UNDERSTANDING SEXUALITY



GLOSSARY

Understanding Sexuality, in this component, deals with sex in an honest and straightforward manner. This is the most beneficial way to contribute to mutual understanding not only between the sexes, but also between the generations. In the past, sex was often allowed to create fear, guilt and despair when it could have inspired faith, hope and love. People did not dare to inquire into what they needed or wanted to know about sex. The Federal Commission on Obscenity and Pornography, whose official report recommends that a massive sex education be launched....aimed at achieving an acceptance of sex as a normal and natural part of life and of oneself as a sexual human being....and should be aimed, as appropriate, to all segments of our society, adults as well as children and adolescents." Understanding Sexuality tries to follow the spirit of these recommendations.

Abortion - induced termination of pregnancy

Abstain - to avoid certain substances (like food or drugs) or to avoid certain activities (like sexual intercourse or masturbation)

Affection - a tender and warm feeling of concern for another person

Adolescence - the time between the beginning of puberty and adulthood

Adultery - sexual intercourse between partners of whom at least one is married to somebody else

Agrape - nonsexualized love for humankind

Aggressive - a behavior action of being 'pushy' or 'in charge' or taking the lead by self appointment

Amniotic sac - membrane that forms within the uterus in which the fetus is surrounded by protective fluid; the "bag of waters"

Anal sex - anilingus or anal intercourse, insertion of the penis into the anus or rectum

Anilingus - stimulation of the anus with the tongue

Attitude - the total way a person thinks, feels and acts out - not only is it reflected in the personality, but also in the approach to others

Bestiality - intercourse with an animal

Birth canal - the vagina, at the time of delivery of a baby

Birth control - the ability of and the method or device used by sexual partners to plan or prevent a pregnancy as a result of their sexual intercourse

Bisexuality - sexual attraction to or sexual activity with members of both sexes.

Breech presentation/birth - birth of a baby with the rump or feet approaching first

Castration - the removal of the gonads (sex glands); male - testicles, female - ovaries

SOCIAL READJUSTMENT RATING SCALE

<u>Event</u>	<u>Value</u>
Death of spouse	100
Divorce	73
Marital separation	65
Jail term	63
Death of close family member	63
Personal injury or illness	53
Marriage	50
Fired from work	47
Marital reconciliation	45
Retirement	45
Change in family member's health	44
Pregnancy	40
Sex difficulties	39
Addition to family	39
Business readjustment	39
Change in financial status	38
Death of close friend	37
Change to different line of work	36
Change in number of marital arguments	36
Mortgage or loan over £	31
Foreclosure of mortgage or loan	30
Change in work responsibilities	29
Son or daughter leaving home	29
Trouble with in-laws	29
Outstanding personal achievement	28
Spouse begins or stops work	26
Starting or finishing school	26
Change in living conditions	25
Revision of personal habits	24
Trouble with boss	23
Change in work hours, conditions	20
Change in residence	20
Change in schools	20
Change in recreational habits	19
Change in church activities	19
Change in social activities	18
Mortgage or loan under £	17
Change in sleeping habits	16
Change in number of family gatherings	15
Change in eating habits	15
Vacation	13
Christmas season	12
Minor violation of the law	11

CONFLICT RESOLUTION

A



B



C



STRESS • FRUSTRATION • ANGER • CONFLICT RESOLUTION

• • • ASSESSING PERSONAL FRUSTRATION AND ANGER • • •

- A. In a few words write your definition of frustration and anger
- B. Draw a picture of how you 'feel' when you are angry

• • • DISCUSSION • • •

STEPS FOR CHANGING BEHAVIOUR AND ATTITUDES RELATED TO ANGER

- 1. Describe a specific behaviour you want to change
- 2. List personal reasons for wanting to change
- 3. How will you change?

What attitude will you need to help change the behaviour?

How will you maintain or continue the attitude?

- 4. Now that you have decided on the behaviour you want to change and the reasons for wanting to and the required attitude

Describe the new/substitute behaviour you will adopt which replaces the behaviour you will change.

Think of the times you have been frustrated the most, think of how you handled it and the results. Looking back .. what do you wish you had not done ... and what you wish you had done?

Appendix III

**Details of interviews conducted during the fieldwork phase of
the research**

Details and Types of Interview Conducted

Individual Interviews

Individual interviews were conducted with the following:

- A female nursery nurse based in London
- A female canteen assistant based at a primary school in London
- A male student A Level psychology student, studying in Birmingham
- A male sign-interpreter for people who have hearing difficulties based in Milton Keynes
- A male Chief superintendent at New Scotland Yard (vice squad), London
- A female volunteer at SCOSAC
- A male social worker based in Leeds
- A male consultant clinical psychologist, specialising in working with sex offenders, Oxfordshire

Group Interviews

Group interviews were conducted with the following participants:

- A self-help group for mothers of sexually abused children, Manchester (all female).
- WPC's working in the area of child protection, Leeds
- NSPCC child protection social workers, Leeds (male and female)
- Colleagues and friends at the Open University, Milton Keynes

Sorting task-led individual interviews

- A female representative from 'grass roots' based in (an organisation committed to eradicating female circumcision or 'female genital mutilation').
- A male senior nursing practitioner based in Oxford
- A female member of a self-help group for survivors of child sexual abuse

Sorting task-led group interviews

- A group of health care professionals based in Oxfordshire (male and female)
- Colleagues and friends at the Open University, Milton Keynes
- NSPCC child protection social workers based in Birmingham (male and female)
- 3 female volunteers at SCOSAC (Standing Committee on Sexual Violence Against Children), London.
- Children's nurses at the Royal Alexandra Hospital for Sick Children, Brighton (all female)
- Members of 'mothers and toddlers group' based in Milton Keynes
- Teachers at a special school in Reading

Appendix IV

Research outline used in group discussions

RESEARCH PROJECT – EXPLANATIONS AND UNDERSTANDINGS OF CHILD SEXUAL ABUSE

WHAT THE RESEARCH IS TRYING TO ACHIEVE

A lot of people find it difficult to understand why someone would sexually abuse a child. It's just not an easy topic to think about. But if we are going to be able to tackle this problem, we do need to explore reasons why children are sexually abused.

In my research I hope to explore people's ideas about and understandings of:

- ❖ Children, sex and sexuality in general
- ❖ Which circumstances lead to sexual abuse?
- ❖ What sorts of factors make some children vulnerable?
- ❖ What kind of person is a sexual abuser?
- ❖ What kind of person would never sexually abuse a child?
- ❖ What more can be done to protect children, and prevent sexual abuse?
- ❖ What we should do about sexual abusers?
- ❖ How common a problem is it?
- ❖ How important a problem is it? Are we over-reacting – is there an unjustified 'moral panic' about child sexual abuse?

I will be investigating these questions by talking to a wide range of people. This includes abusers themselves, people who were sexually abused in childhood, and professionals who work in this field. But just as important, I want to explore 'ordinary and everyday understandings' – the kinds of things people say and think about in everyday life, as well as the kinds of explanations that are written about in textbooks and taught in lectures.

For this reason, I am asking different people to help me. Some of the people I will ask will have no particular expertise or knowledge in this area. But even so, like anybody else, they will have their own ideas, from what they have seen on TV, read in the paper, and from their own lives and experiences. Others will have some particular interest or concern. I expect they will draw upon a range of ideas. For example, some of the time, nurses will draw upon their 'professional knowledge'. But at other times, they will use their individual and everyday understandings – as parents, as people who were children themselves, as members of a church, and so on. I want to look at them all.

What I hope is that by finding out about these explanations, my research will contribute to tackling child sexual abuse. For example, my results may help to plan better therapy for abusers, based more in the 'real world' of what people actually say and do. I also think that my research raises issues about, for example, children's rights, and how sexual abuse should be investigated.

Appendix V

Sorting task used in individual and group interviews

LEAST ABUSIVE

MOST ABUSIVE

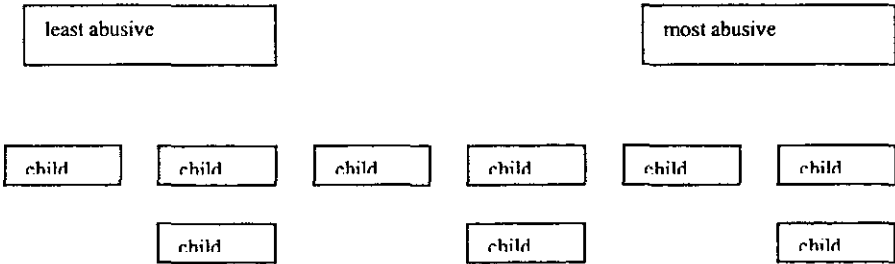
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INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE SORTING TASK

- ❖ YOU WILL FIND ON THE SHEETS PROVIDED, 12 SCENARIOS DEPICTING DIFFERENT TYPES OF ABUSE AND THE NAMES OF THE CHILDREN CONCERNED.
- ❖ I WOULD LIKE YOU TO COMPARE EACH OF THE SCENARIOS, AND THE ABUSE THEY DESCRIBE, AND THEN INDICATE ABOVE WHICH IS LEAST ABUSIVE – MOST ABUSIVE IN YOUR TERMS FOR THE CHILD CONCERNED. PLEASE REMEMBER THAT I AM INTERESTED IN POINTS OF VIEW AND THAT THERE ARE NO 'RIGHT' OR 'WRONG' ANSWERS ATTACHED TO THIS ACTIVITY
- ❖ YOU MAY FIND IT EASIER TO CUT OUT THE NAMES OF THE CHILDREN (PROVIDED ON A SEPARATE SHEET) TO ASSIST THE ORDERING (SEE DIAGRAM BELOW).
- ❖ ONCE YOU HAVE COME TO A DECISION, PLEASE RECORD THE NAMES OF THE CHILDREN, IN THE ORDER YOU HAVE CHOSEN IN THE BOXES ABOVE AND BRING THIS SHEET WITH YOU TO THE DISCUSSION MEETING.

THANK YOU FOR PARTICIPATING

MARCIA



Please indicate on the scale if you regard any of the scenarios as being equally abusive (any comments you wish to make will also very useful).

Sally is twelve and she and her dad have always been very close. She can't really work out when it started, because her dad has been putting her to bed since she was little and always came in for a cuddle. But she can remember before she even started school he used to caress her and stroke her, and slowly this changed from being just cuddles to include doing things to him too, with her hands and her mouth. By the time she was ten they were having intercourse at least once a week while mum was out at work. Her dad told her this was just the usual things dad did with daughters but she feels increasingly bad about it, especially since the sex education classes started at school. If she tells dad she doesn't fancy it he gets angry now. In fact he gets angry a lot these days and the other day when she was talking about her friends who go out with boys he became so angry she thought he would be ill.

Sally

Barry's mum found him masturbating with his friend Tom. He told her that this was what all the boys at school did, and that he and Tom had to do it for the older boys. If they refused, they got 'put on report' for being disobedient.

Barry

Kieran is seven and he lives with his mum and her boyfriend Kent. He doesn't like Kent very much, and hates it when his mum goes to work in the evenings and Kent looks after him. He's frightened of Kent, so he always does what Kent says – if he doesn't Kent hits him hard, though never where the bruises show. A few weeks ago Kent introduced Kieran to sex. He made Kieran pull his pants down, and held him onto the bed while he buggered him. It hurt Kieran a lot and he bled. Kent told him to stop crying, and if he told anybody, he would kill his mother and then him. Last week Kent did it again, and Kieran is very frightened, as his bottom is very sore and still bleeding.

Kieran

Carol is fifteen, and she goes to a special school as she has learning difficulties. Brian who works there is her 'special friend'. He spends a lot of time with her, and sometimes gives her a lift home in car. Usually he parks for a while so they can talk, though lately he has been kissing her too. The last time he masturbated her, and showed her how to masturbate him. Carol thinks it's really lovely to have a special friend, and now he's her boyfriend she really proud. It upsets her a bit, though, when she told the rest of the staff that Brian was her boyfriend they all laughed at her. Brian laughed too and told her she was imagining things.

Carol

Jayne is three. Claire, who babysits for her, really enjoys bathing her at night. Sometimes she 'plays games' with her, blowing the bubbles and tickling her, and sometimes she put her finger in Jayne's 'pee-pee' and tickles her there. Jaynes thinks it feels funny – not nasty, but it doesn't feel quite right, particularly as Claire says it is 'their secret' and Jayne must never tell her mummy and daddy.

Jayne

Malcolm is twelve. Most evenings he goes to visit Mr Jackman down the road. He's a pensioner, and Malcolm's mum is pleased her son is being so warmhearted. She doesn't know half of it, Malcolm thinks Mr Jackman has these really great 'adult' videos, and quite a crowd go round to watch them together – other older men and some boys Malcolm knows. Sometimes 'Old Jacko' (as Malcolm and his mates call him) takes photographs of the boys in the nude. Malcolm thinks it's a 'bit of a laugh', and anyway, he doesn't mind too much and usually get a couple of quid after 'for his trouble'. Recently one of the other men has been getting the boys to masturbate while he watches and Malcolm feels less happy about it.

Malcolm

Prue is eighteen and Carlos, her boyfriend is fifteen. Her friends tease her a bit for having a boyfriend so young, but they have to admit he doesn't look it. Prue is the more experienced, having 'lost her virginity' at twelve. It took her a while to persuade Carlos he needed to lose his, but in the end he gave in. Now they have sex most Wednesdays when Carlos and she babysit for his sister.

Carlos

Jenny's parents are divorced. Last week on her sixteenth birthday, her dad and his new wife took Jenny and her boyfriend out for a meal. Her dad got a bit drunk and kissing her goodbye, he put his hand up her skirt and started trying to pull at her pants. Jenny was devastated. When she talked to her mum about it, her mum was angry, but said, 'your dad was probably too drunk to know what he was doing'. But Jenny says it does not matter – she will never be able to trust him again. He wrote a letter to apologise to her, but she says she never wants to see him again. 'Every time I think about it, I feel sick', she says.

Jenny

Zaira is three. Her mother is a prostitute. Zaira shares her mother's bed and when she has a client, Zaira is wrapped up and placed on the sofa. Her mum has told her she must keep her eyes tight shut when there is a man in the room. But Zaira sometimes gets very frightened at the noises, and when sometimes the men shout out, she cries a lot. She thinks they are hurting her mummy.

Zaira

Maya aged two has been in care for two months after her mother was admitted to a psychiatric hospital. Her foster mother has noticed a vaginal discharge and took Maya to the doctor where a sexually transmitted disease was diagnosed. Maya tells the social worker that a man has been rubbing 'his willie on my tuppence'.

Maya

Harry and Tracy are six and eight. Their mother left, and now they live with their dad and grandparents. On a Friday night the 'grown-ups' usually go down the pub, and when they come home, often with their uncle, the children are got out of bed. All the adults are involved: the men take it in turns to have sex with the children – mostly buggery, and gran watches, holding them down while one of the men 'is at it'. Both children are very upset and frightened – they can't make sense of what is happening. They don't like it, but the 'grown-ups' are so strong, and they can all be pretty violent with a few drinks inside them.

Harry and Tracy

Bruno aged thirteen is tall for his age and good at athletics which he really enjoys. Recently he complained to his father that his games mistress always puts her hand on his bottom and shoulders when she is talking to him and he doesn't like it. She sometimes comes into the changing room when he is there on his own. Now he has been selected for special athletics coaching and mainly he is very pleased, but he is worried that he will have to see more of her.

Bruno

Kieran

Harry and Tracy

Macolm

Zaira

Jayne

Carlos

Carol

Maya

Sally

Jenny

Barry

Bruno

Appendix VI

Derivation of items used in the Q Methodological Study

Some examples of the derivation of items used the Explanations for Child Sexual Abuse Q-Sort

Item No	Item	Examples of sources of Information	Illustrations
1	All other things being equal, the older the child the more we should accept the idea that they may have chosen to get involved in a relationship with an adult.	Clegg, 1990 Brongersma, 1991 O'Carroll, 1980	Clegg, 1990 'Consent here is not individually given or refused, rather a whole group of people are deemed to be outside the legitimate discourse of consent; the issue is not that children give or refuse consent but that they actually do not possess that capacity in relation to adult-child sexuality. The argument is posed in moral terms and therefore any empirical evidence suggesting that in some circumstances older children may be both psychologically and socially capable of giving informed consent is rendered inadmissible' (p33) Brongersma, 1991, a self declared paedophile, argues on the matter of sexual liberty that ...'it is the individual's absolute right to dispose of his or her own body for sexual purposes and to decide freely if, with whom, when, where, how and how long he or she wants to have sex' (p33)
2	The woman who knows about and colludes with child sexual abuse often escapes the punishment that her partner is likely to suffer.	Hooper, 1987 Group interview with mothers of sexually abused children	Group interview with mothers of sexually abused children 'Quite often a lot of the time I were in the house. And because I were in the house the child sees it that we knew what was happening, I'd let it happen. Its very hard for a child to understand that we were downstairs in the sitting room and didn't know what was going on...she blamed me for not stopping it
4	Some people get hooked onto child sexual abuse in the same way that others get hooked onto drugs or gambling.	Carnes, 1990 Storr, 1964 A view commonly expressed in the interviews conducted for the purposes of this research.	Carnes, 1990 'A growing understanding of sexual addiction is significant in the field of sexual abuse research and treatment from several perspectives. Many abusers are sex addicts and sexual addiction issues need to be considered in their treatment' (p127).
5	The closer the emotional attachment a person has with a child, the easier it is for that person to become an abuser.	Araji and Finkelhor, 1985, 1986 Expressed in the informal interviews with 'Andrew'	Araji and Finkelhor, 1985 'Some of the most widely cited theories about paedophilia indicate that paedophiles choose children for sexual partners because children have some especially compelling emotional meaning for them. We have called this "emotional congruence" (p20)

6	Single sex education can give individuals a taste for young people of the same sex.	Informal discussion on boarding schools	Informal discussion [m] 'We used to have wanking competitions where we'd wank on a biscuit, the last person to 'come' would have to eat it. It was all done as 'bit of a joke, but it wasn't really'
7	Generally, child sexual abuse is better understood as a 'spur of the moment' offence rather than as a premeditated one.	Sgroi, Blick and Porter (1982) Wyre, 1987	Sgroi, Blick and Porter, 1982 'Child sexual abuse is not a capricious, unplanned, unpredictable phenomena...the perpetrator can be expected to watch for, or to create, opportunities for private interaction with the child' (p13) Wyre, 1987 'For many years there has been the belief that sex offending is committed by over sexed men who spontaneously attack women and children. I have yet to find this type of offender. each offender has a cycle of behaviour that goes from masturbation fantasy to contact with the victim' (p21)
9	The ways our schools have handled the sex education of the present generation of parents is a factor in the sexual abuse we see today.	Item used in Stainton Rogers and Stainton Rogers (1989) Plummer, 1981 Kutchinsky, 1994	Plummer, 1981 'Education in schools is all too often unpractical and unhelpful because of the lack of general public support and the intense hostility of some minorities to the exposure of children to explicit sexual scenes. In scarcely any other context are children forced into a secret subculture of their own through the failure of communication with their elders' (p264) Kutchinsky, 1994 'If the child has received some sex education, is not frightened about sex generally, and has basic knowledge of the nature of sexual abuse, accidental and brief encounters with strangers are unlikely to produce any serious or lasting effects. Under such circumstances the child is likely to react appropriately to the situation, turning away from indecent exposures, rejecting propositions or attempts at physical contact'(p54)
10	The motivations for the sexual abuse of children are very different from the reasons why people physically abuse or neglect them.	Sorting task-led group interview with healthcare professionals Finkelhor, 1984	Task-led group interview with health care professionals – [m] discussing scenario 'Children can turn around and say that my father beat me up once, physical abuse is like more acceptable but a child can't turn 'round and say that my 'father touched me up once'
11	Sexually abusing children is a sign of a psychiatric illness requiring medical or psychological treatment.	Dominelli, 1986 Finkelhor, 1986 Raised in group interviews in response to a question on the research outline.	Dominelli, 1986 'Men continually assert their personal interest supersedes women's. That is why labelling the malcest [incest] perpetrator, as a psychological misfit, departing from the benign male norm, is inappropriate'. (p16)
12	Having access to	Wyre, 1988 in	Search, 1988 'peter was convicted of

	pornographic magazines and videos makes people less likely to sexually abuse children.	Search, 1988 Wyre, 1987 Issues raised in feminist-informed conferences, workshops and training days	sexually abusing teenage girls. "I watched porno films for a long time before I started abusing, and I honestly believe that it did have an effect on the behaviour I got into' (p67)
14	A society that encourages little girls to buy make-up, uses them to sell jeans, and offers them role models like 'Madonna' stimulates the sexual abuse of girls.	Kitzinger, 1992 Search, 1988 A view that was expressed in a number of the interviews conducted for this research. [item used by Stainton Rogers and Stainton Rogers, 1989)	Kitzinger, 1992 Advertising makes use of use of images of young girls made up to look like Marilyn Monroe with slogans such as "innocence is sexier than you think" (p161) Search, 1988 'We express disgust at ten-year-old girls being made to look sexually provocative in pornographic pictures. But we don't object to them being made to look just as provocative in films fashion shots, or glossy advertisements...' (p20)
16	Women, who do not report the sexual abuse of their children, are often so dependent on the man that they are prepared to pay any price to keep him from leaving.	Porter, 1984 Group interview with self-help group for mothers of sexually abused children	Porter 1984 'a wife whose husband is in prison may find herself suddenly not only without a partner but also without a wage earner. She may respond by blaming the child for disclosing the child sexual abuse. She may turn against her daughter, ally herself with the husband in prison, and oust the girl from the family' (p89) Group interviews with mothers of sexually abused children 'I don't care how much you love a fellow, or how much you need the money your children have got to come first...'
18	With child sexual abuse, as for so many other social problems, alcohol abuse has a lot to answer for.	Virkkunen, 1981 Araji and Finkelhor, 1985, 1986 A view that was commonly expressed in the interviews conducted for this research.	Virkkunen, 1981 'The fathers with alcohol problems had a tendency to react explosively within the family, usually under the influence of alcohol. Also, these alcoholics had been under the influence of alcohol, usually at least, at the beginning of the relationship' (p129)
20	Some father-daughter incest arises because they fall in love.	Howell's, 1981 O'Carroll, 1980 A view that was expressed by 'Andrew' the informal interviews conducted with him.	Howell's, 1981 'At an explanatory level, "love affairs" between apparently consenting children and adults have little in common with sadistically motivated child murders' (p83) O'Carroll, 1980 'Sometimes the child feels 'love' for the adult, in a romantic sense...On the adult's side there may of course be romantic, essentially non-parental feelings...' (p168)

21	Incest can occur even in really well adjusted families.	<p>Maisch (1973)</p> <p>Lustig, Dresser, Spellman and Thomas, 1966</p> <p>The validity of this point was debated in a number of the interviews conducted for this research.</p>	<p>Maisch (1973) '...incest is not a cause but the symptom or result of a family whose inner order was as a rule already disturbed before the offence' (p208)</p> <p>Lustig et al, 1966 'The dysfunctional family in which incest occurs has certain general characteristics... The family's differentiation of roles and transactional patterns only superficially resembled those of the functional family' (p38)</p>
22	Sexual abuse is a way of life in some families.	<p>Nelson, 1982</p> <p>Sorting task-led group interviews</p>	<p>Nelson, 1982 'A committed feminist and psychologist who worked in a "problem" housing estate told me incest was a way of life in certain families'. (p39)</p> <p>View expressed by a District nurse in a sorting task-led group interview with health care professionals in Oxford 'I've met families that have intercourse in front of the children and you know they say that is part of their family and "we see nothing wrong with it"...I was shocked and worried about it, but I think it's normal within some families'</p> <p>View expressed by a Health visitor in a sorting task-led group interview: as a child I grew up knowing that there was a particular area down the road that we knew as the warren because my father said they behaved like rabbits and they said that nobody knew who was related to them.</p>
23	Parent-child incest most often involves an on-going sexual relationship.	<p>Frude (1988)</p> <p>Bagley, 1969</p>	<p>Frude 1988 'The evidence suggests that fathers who approach their daughters sexually are often highly positively and emotionally involved with them' (p467)</p> <p>Bagley 'When presented with the opportunity of a sexual relation with the opposite sexed parent, the child enters this relationship not unwillingly, and may participate in it for a period of years' (p514).</p>
26	I accept the notion that child sexual abuse can be an unconscious expression of anger.	<p>Wyre, 1987</p> <p>Driver, 1989</p>	<p>Wyre, 1987 'In the anger rape cycle he sees the rape act or the sexual act as a way of punishing or humiliating or controlling the child, e.g. in one case:" I told her so many times not to wear her pants in bed. We had an argument so I ripped them off and had sex with her". He threatened her with violence for telling. Having committed this act it became a regular occurrence' (p35).</p> <p>Driver, 1989 'In arguing that the offender</p>

			is motivated by aggression, it is implied that he is really not interested in sexual gratification as such. The idea then develops that his behaviour is not <i>sexually</i> oriented at all. This allows us to avoid looking at any connections between male aggression and male sexual pleasure...(p13)
27	Working mothers, by their absence, create the opportunity for child sexual abuse.	Christianisen and Blake, 1990 This items was derived from the debates which took place in a number of interviews about the role of the mother in cases of child sexual abuse.	Christiansen and Blake, 1990 'Rather than find a time when they are entirely alone - when mothers are away working, or siblings are at school, for instance - perpetrators frequently abuse their children when other family members are in the house' (p95)
30	<i>There is no reason why child victims of sexual abuse should go on to become a child sexual abuser themselves.</i>	Kaufman and Zigler, 1987 Bentovim, 1990 Groth, Hobson and Gary, 1982	Kaufman and Zigler, 1987 'Although there is some truth to the notion that abuse is cyclical, there are also many factors that diminish the likelihood of abuse being transmitted across generations. Being maltreated as a child puts one at risk for becoming abusive but the path between these two points is far from direct or inevitable. In the past unqualified acceptance of the intergenerational hypothesis has had many negative consequences. Adults who were maltreated have been told so many times that they will abuse their children that for some it has become a self-fulfilling prophecy. many have broken the cycle are left feeling like walking time bombs' (p191-191) Groth, Hobson and Gary, 1982 '...the sexually victimised child - especially the male - runs a high risk of becoming a sexual victimiser. One way in which the male child may try to combat the feelings of powerlessness inherent in being a victim is to ultimately identify with the aggressor...in an attempt to restore control'. (p138)
31	<i>We need to recognise that the forces of evil may lie behind some of the more perverted forms of child sexual abuse.</i>	Core, 1991	Core, 1991 'When a person sexually abuses a child. Whether within an incestuous relationship or through a network of paedophiles, he is committing an act of depravity that attracts condemnation as a deed of evil'. (p13)
32	<i>The reasons for sex between an adult and an adolescent are very different from the reasons for sex between an adult and a small child.</i>	sorting-task led group interview	Sorting-task led group interview with NSPCC child protection social worker [f] 'I think it would be almost self-evident to suggest that the kind of father who starts a sexual relationship with his daughter at 7 is different from a teenage baby sitter abusing a 3 month old baby in his or her care'

33	<i>For some people, children are sexually alluring because they are 'forbidden fruit'.</i>	Kitzinger, 1988 Righton, 1981	Kitzinger, 1988 'In a society where innocence is a fetish and where men are excited by the idea of defiling the pure and deflowering the virgin, focusing on children's presumed innocence only reinforces men's desire for them as sexual objects' (p80)
34	<i>To be able to make sense of an incident of child sexual abuse we first need to know the gender of the victim and of the abuser.</i>	Bolton, Morris and MacEachron, 1989 Individual Interview Kempe and Kempe, 1984 Television documentary on BBC about male rape (broadcast 23/7/91)	Individual Interview with a female SCOSAC worker 'Boys are brought up to experience the world differently, they are taught to explore and stick things in. They are predatory. The way boys are going to experience abuse is going to be different to girls - they are invaded by the whole experience' Kempe and Kempe, 1984 'Boys do worse than girls as victims of sexual abuse do. Both mother-son and father-son incest leave a boy with such severe emotional insult that emotional growth is blocked...Incest, then, can be ruinous for the male while it can be overcome with, or sometimes without help by many girls (p190)
38	<i>It is helpful to look at child sexual abuse as a symptom of an underlying personal problem or crisis in the abuser.</i>	Groth, Hobson and Gary, 1982 This view was debated in conferences, workshops attended.	Groth, Hobson and Gary, 1982 'Child molestation is the sexual expression of non-sexual needs and unresolved life issues'(p137). 'Paedophilia [is] the symptom that emerges in response to psychological stress'(p138)
40	<i>Adults have the need to express themselves in sexual relationships; sexual abuse may occur if an individual is unable to meet such needs in more conventional ways.</i>	Storr, 1964 Nelson, 1982 Araji and Finkelhor, 1985, 1986 Group interview	Group with colleagues and friends at the Open University [m] '...maybe it's the lack of success in becoming adultly sexual...if people in adolescence are told "no" during their experimentations enough times I suppose "no" becomes their expectation so you've got to get somebody who doesn't know how to say no' Storr, 1964 'The man who suffers from paedophilia [does so] ...not from superfluity of lust, but rather because of a timid inability to make contact with contemporaries that a man generally finds children form the focus of his sexual interest' (p102). Araji and Finkelhor, 1986 '[Some] individuals are blocked in their ability to meet their sexual and emotional needs in adult heterosexual relationships...For some reason, in the child molester these normal tendencies are blocked, and thus the sexual interest orients towards children' p(106)
42	<i>We will never fully understand why a man is sexually abusing a child in the family, unless we look to the behaviour of the woman.</i>	Lustig, Dresser, Spellman and Murray, 1966 Hooper, 1987	Lustig, Dresser, Spellman and Murray, 1966 'the mother's role in facilitating the incestuous relationship involved both strong unconscious hostility toward the daughter and considerable dependency upon her as a substitute wife-mother'. (P34)/Despite the overt culpability of the

			fathers, we were impressed with their psychological passivity in the transactions leading to incest. The mother appeared to be the cornerstone in the pathological family system'. (p39)
43	<i>The reasons why men sexually abuse children and why women do so are fundamentally the same.</i>	Wilkins, 1990 Faller, 1987	<p>Wilkins, 1990 'Doctors need to become sensitised to the extent of sexual abuse by women and research must be undertaken to identify similarities and differences between men and women offenders - especially with regards to the motivation to abuse, the selection of victims, the efficacy of treatment, and the propensity to abuse again.</p> <p>Faller, 1987 '[i]t appears the circumstances that lead women to sexually abuse children can be differentiated from those causing men to do so'(p275)</p>
45	<i>Paedophilia in women is one of the great-unrecognised child abuse problems of our time.</i>	Kelly, 1989 Elliott, 1993 Finkelhor and Russell, 1984 Allen, 1990	<p>Kelly, 1989 'I do not want to dismiss the fact that a few women do sexually abuse children. What concerns me is the way evidence we <i>do</i> have is invoked to support an ideological position. By asserting that lots of women abuse too, they haven't found the survivors yet, the "new experts"...[are] refusing to recognise men's power in the worlds and in the family' (p15)</p> <p>Finkelhor and Russell, 1984 argue that the literature 'leads fairly persuasively to the conclusion that the traditional view about child molestation as a primary male deviation is correct. Women do not use children for their own direct sexual gratification very frequently' (p112)</p> <p>Wilkins, 1990 'Despite the feminist tenant "No penis, no harm", clearly sexual abuse can longer be considered the exclusive preserve of men' (p1154)</p>
46	<i>Sex with a child often has no more complicated an explanation than it was the most convenient way for somebody to fulfil sexual needs.</i>	West, 1981 Kutchinsky, 1994 Group interview with mothers of sexually abused children	<p>West, 1981 'A proportion of paedophilic acts represent substitute gratification sought by men in their desire for an adult partner' (p264)</p> <p>Kutchinsky, 1994 'Most child molesters, how ever are <i>not</i> particularly attracted to children, but merely seeking sexual stimulation through encounters with children to compensate for a preferred, but unobtainable sexual relationship with an adult'(p54)</p> <p>Interview with a member of a self-help group for mothers of sexually abused children: 'My ex husband was lousy in bed. I think if he got a child they can't compare. They can't turn round and say "bloody lousy that was bloody rubbish"....They feel inadequate...and the child makes them feel that they can do better'</p>

48	<i>There is something about the stepfathering role, which seems to release sexually abusive tendencies.</i>	Russell, 1984	<p>Porter, 1984 'For stepfathers and foster fathers the problem does not seem to be only in the absence of the biological bond. Stepfathers are often introduced into the family at, or shortly before, evidence of emerging sexuality in older children. These fathers may not have experienced the maturing effects of bringing up their own children, which strengthen the incest taboo...' (p9)</p> <p>Russell (1984) reports that women who were raised by stepfathers had an almost 8 fold increased risk of sexual victimisation.</p>
49	<i>It is helpful to see child sexual abuse as resulting from distorted thinking/living in a world of 'unreality'.</i>	<p>Sgroi, Blick and Porter, 1982</p> <p>Abel, Becker, Cunningham-Rathner, 1984</p>	<p>Sgroi, Blick and Porter, 1982 'Incest perpetrators tend to perceive the outside world as hostile and convey this perception to the child as both a reason and an excuse for incestuous sexual behaviour' (p27)</p> <p>Abel, Becker, Cunningham-Rathner, 1984 'A perplexing world still remains for the adult who is attracted to children. What is he to do, given his arousal pattern and society's disapproval of his sexual behaviour with children? at present it appears that he changes the inner world in which he lives by developing cognition's and beliefs that support his behaviour' (p101)</p>
51	<i>Those cultures, which have extended families e.g. where grandparents, aunts etc. are very much part of the family, provide a high level of protection for children from sexual abuse.</i>	Conference delegate	Conference delegate, [m] 'We don't have child abuse in our country [India] because we have the extended family and that protects the children'
52	<i>Child sexual abuse and 'wife beating' have similar explanations.</i>	<p>Hacking, 1991</p> <p>This item was derived from a number of feminist-informed views that were expressed during the interviews conducted for this research.</p>	Hacking, 1991 'Without feminism there is little likelihood that that the idea of child abuse would so quickly have absorbed the notion of the sexual abuse of children. Wife assault and child assault have become assimilated and the entire phenomenon of child abuse seen as one more aspect of patriarchal domination' (p260)
53	<i>Modern family life exposes men to temptations to sexually abuse which their fathers and grandfathers never faced.</i>	Sorting task led interview with members of a mothers and toddlers group	<p>Sorting task-led interview with members of a mother and toddlers group: [f] 'My 17 year old girl came in and said "Oh dear" she said, "I have just made GY [her stepfather] blush". And I said "What?" She said "I just popped into your bedroom to borrow a pair of earrings..." And she was just wearing a towel loosely around her but only just ... and she said he went bright red..."</p> <p>As above [f] '...My daughter would sit in the garden topless sunbathing and my husband would walk past and try not to</p>

			look at her because I suppose he does not feel comfortable with her..."
56	<i>The very position of trust that women have traditionally held over the care of children has also allowed them to sexually abuse unrecognised.</i>	Plummer, 1981 Kelly, 1989 Righton, 1981 Allen, 1990	Plummer, 1981 '[A] major problem arises here because of the culturally specific expectations of men and women by which men are more routinely viewed as "sexual" while women are more routinely viewed as being less so, and simultaneously more "emotional" and "maternal". These expectations positively encourage women - through their nurturing, maternal role - to have close bodily contact with children; a woman who caresses a child is not viewed with suspicion, for she is simply being "maternal". the same conduct from a man would usually invite suspicion...' (P228)
57	<i>The more we have a society based around couples doing things together, the more likely it is that one of those things will be the sexual abuse of children.</i>	Coulborn Fallier, 1987 O'Conner, 1987, 1988	O'Conner, 1988 'Nearly all the women in the unlawful sexual intercourse group were convicted of adding and abetting a male, rather than being the instigator themselves'(p45)
58	<i>As women progressively take over traditionally male roles and activities, they are also more likely to take over male vices like child sexual abuse.</i>	Allen, 1990 Schoenewolf, 1991 Individual interview	Individual interview with male A-level psychology student [m] 'Because of feminism women are more powerful nowadays, and I suppose if they have the same power as men they'll act like them also' Schoenewolf, 1991 'Power, as they say corrupts, and the power that women now have over men has taken the very form of disarrangement of men and male sexuality that feminists say men are guilty of with regard to women.' (p341)
60	<i>The explanations for child sexual abuse in one culture will not necessarily work in another culture.</i>	DeMause, 1991 - Konker, 1992 Group interviews with WPC's specialising in child protection	Konker, 1992 'When examined from an anthropological perspective, there are cultural differences in what is defined as appropriate adult sexual conduct, sexual maturity, and sexual pleasure. Further, what is considered "bad" sexual contact for children in one society may be regarded as "good" for proper child rearing and development in another' (p148) A WPC's specialising in the area of child protection: We had a case round here recently where a lot of men were 'deflowering' their girls...educating their children in to sex, they tried to say it were a cultural thing...but I know of no such thing happening in XXX [Northern Town]...they were all from here.
61	<i>To my mind, there is no link between exposure to pornography in childhood and a later tendency to become a child sexual abuser.</i>	Wyre, 1992	Wyre, 1992 'pornography does predispose some men to commit sexual abuse, and I have little doubt that the predisposition for some men can actually lie solely in the area of pornography - and nothing else - which creates the predisposition to commit sexual abuse'

			(p237-238)
63	<i>When a girl has been sexually abused, our first assumption should be that the abuse took place within the family.</i>	Bolton, Morris and MacEachron, 1989	Bolton, Morris and MacEachron, 1989 'It does appear that males may be more at risk outside the home than females...there is some suggestion that the incestuous pattern commonly found in female children may be less than norm [sic] in male children'
65	<i>Sadly, the normal affectionate touching between a parent and a child can occasionally slip into fondling that is sexually abusive.</i>	Anderson, 1979	Anderson, 1979 'Touch is an important part of life, at times, an essential part of life. Touching changes throughout life. Newborn babies, in most cultures, are closely and intimately touched by their mothers and fathers.' (p793)
67	<i>Sexual abuse by other children is one of the great-unrecognised child sexual abuse problems of our time.</i>	Oliver, Hall, Neuhaus, 1993 Hollows and Armstrong, 1991	Oliver, Hall, Neuhaus, 1993 'Although adolescent sexual aggression is a serious societal problem, the adolescent sex offender has been largely neglected in the psychological literature' (p359)
69	<i>The less fuss we make about an act of child sexual abuse, the better as far as the recovery of the child is concerned.</i>	Individual interview with social worker Storr, 1964	Individual interview with male social worker : 'I knew a family with two daughters who were sexually abused, by telling them it wasn't normal we were making it worse'

Some examples of the derivation of items used in the Standpoint and Definitions Q-sort.

Item No.	Item	Examples of sources of information	Illustrations
1	<i>There are some acts towards children that are sexually abusive no matter what the context or the motivation.</i>	Gagon and Simon, 1968	Gagon and Simon, 1968 'There is no form of sexual activity that is not deviant at some time, in some social location, in some specified relationships, or with some partners. truly one can say that sexual deviance covers a multitude of sins' (p107)
3	<i>Paedophilia is a moral disorder rather than a disease.</i>	Bagley, 1969 Power, 1977	Bagley, 1969 'The mentally defective are 'extra-societal' in the sense that they have been unable to internalise the moral rules prohibiting incest' (p513) Power, 1977 argues that paedophilia is a 'disease of morals rather than a disease of the mind' (in Righton, 1981:27)
4	<i>Practices like circumcision (male and female) should be defined as forms of ritualistic abuse.</i>	Grassroots (pressure group against 'female genital mutilation') Conference in London De Mause, 1991	DeMause, 1991 'Since genital mutilation is one of the most widespread child rearing practices, its presence alone makes incest a universal practice...Also, the sexual excitement of the adults attending the mutilation is overlooked...(p163)
7	<i>As a society, we tend to turn our backs on and deny those facts about child sexual abuse we cannot bring ourselves to face.</i>	View commonly expressed by members of the self-help observed/interviewed for this research.	Group interview with child protection workers 'I work with people in a social services office who are not children in trouble specialists and the denial thing, well - they say things like "this does not happen" you know that "sexual abuse and that type of activity does not go on" and that's the people I work with and it scares me'
8	<i>Non-contact offences like 'flashing' at a youngster are not themselves forms of child sexual abuse.</i>	Search, 1988 La Fonatine, 1990	Search, 1988 'The kinds of activities covered by the term 'child sexual abuse' range from indecent exposure ('flashing'), talking obscenely to a child either in person or on the telephone, looking at their naked bodies, photographing them, fondling their genitals, mutual masturbation, and oral, anal or vaginal sex. Some people could exclude indecent exposure, and only count activities that involve physical contact' (p6)
9	<i>Sexual abuse is often children's first experience of male power, but it is seldom their last.</i>	MacLeod and Saraga, 1988 Brownmiller, 1975 Nelson, 1982 Sgroi, Blick and Porter, 1982	Rush, 1974 'The sexual abuse of children is an early manifestation of male power and oppression of the

		Rush, 1974	female...[it is] an unspoken and prominent factor in the socialising and preparing of the female to accept the subordinate role...[it] prepares her to submit later to the sexual abuse heaped on her by her boyfriend, lover and husband'(In Bell, 1993: 67)
12	<i>Current practice over child sexual abuse reflects the concerns of social workers and other professionals to do what is best for children.</i>	Kelly, 1989 Archard, 1990 Bell, 1988 Howitt, 1992	Kelly, 1989 ...'with Cleveland it wasn't the children that were the focus, but the "over zealous" professionals' (p18)
16	<i>The way adults treat children as if they were possessions, contributes to the problem of child sexual abuse.</i>	Plummer, 1981 Nelson, 1982 Debated in a number of interviews conducted for this research	Plummer, 1981 'The child becomes an object within the family: he or she can be petted, called "cute", dressed up to please the whims of parents, bossed around the house, battered on occasions, treated as a scapegoat for family problems...the child may be treated as a love object, "an emotional object", within the family setting...' (p242)
18	<i>What is, and what is not, child sexual abuse can only be defined in terms of the effect upon the child.</i>	Kelly, 1988 Sorting task-led interview Sgroi, Blick and Porter, 1982	Sgroi, Blick and Porter, 1982 'To refer to the child who is the subject of sexual attentions by an adult or "bigger person" as a victim reflects our view that children are always victimised by sexual abuse, even when they are willing and enthusiastic participants in sexual behaviour' (p29) Sorting task-led interview with NSPCC child protection social worker [m]: 'A relatively small abuse to one child could be devastating, where as another child can take really horrific abuse and not be damaged, it really depends on the child'
22	<i>Many of those we call 'child sexual abusers' are doing little more than adding the practical side to sex education.</i>	Abel, Becker and Cunningham-Rathner, 1984 O'Carroll, 1980	Abel, Becker and Cunningham-Rathner, 1984 'A frequent misperception is that sexual activity with the child is educational and will teach the child to be a better sexual partner when he or she becomes an adult' (p99)
23	<i>Child sexual abusers have a sickness of the soul, which needs spiritual help.</i>	Core with Harrison, 1991 Allender, 1990	Core with Harrison, 1991 'Christians do not use their religion to justify their perversions; they do not corrupt children within the context of Christian rituals; they do not molest children in the name of God; Christian values do not provide a begin moral framework within which these activities can proceed free of guilt' (p67)
24	<i>Child sexual abusers are created by the social circumstances in which they have lived.</i>	Oliver, Hall and Neuhaus, 1993 Group interview with child	Oliver, Hall and Neuhaus, 1993 'the literature describes adolescent sex offenders as

		<p>protection workers</p> <p>Groth, Hobson, Gary (1982)</p>	<p>[having]..behaviour[al] problems, social isolation, poor academic performance, exposure to adult models of aggression, dominance, and intimidation, and a history of physical and/or sexual abuse are often part of the adolescent sex offender's history (p360).</p> <p>Groth, Hobson and Gary (1982) 'What we are dealing with, inmost cases, is the aftermath of physical and/or psychological abuse, neglect, exploitation, and/or abandonment during the offender's formative years which has precluded a sense of relatedness to others'. (p130)</p>
25	<p><i>As with any fashton in medicine, child sexual abuse attracts the 'cranks', the 'quacks' and the merely 'incompetent'.</i></p>	<p>Hallberg and Rigne, 1994</p>	<p>Hallberg and Rigne, 1994 'Concerning the interpretative claims made by child psychologists about child sexual abuse in Sweden, these are concerted and concentrated. this is because they are forwarded mainly by a small group of self-styled experts, who, by virtue of their institutional positions rather than a cognitive base, launch themselves as links between the public and professionals. their claims have a strongly self-referential character, which probably also explains why so many unsubstantiated beliefs can circulate for so long and remain so unquestioned...' (p157).</p>
26	<p><i>Child sexual abuse is just one of many unpleasant demonstrations of the power that adults have over children.</i></p>	<p>Group Interview with 3 female volunteers from SCOSAC</p>	<p>Extract from group interview [f1] 'there are so many things that children don't like that they have to put up with...some of these thing they don't understand but just have to put up with...I mean a toddler being hauled back from the edge of the road will find it unpleasant and frightening and they may be upset at the parent but its for the child's good to protect them...</p> <p>[f2] I used to have to kiss everybody, auntie, uncle, and neighbours. I used to think "God, I've got to go around and kiss 10 people before I can get to the door..."</p> <p>[f1] They may not like certain things and know some things are wrong but if a teacher is doing things that you don't like - like that headmaster in Cornwall - how do you know whether you should just put up with it as a child because you have</p>

			to put up with so many things you don't like'
26	<i>Child sexual abuse is just one of many unpleasant demonstrations of the power that adults have over children.</i>	Sgroi, Blick and Porter, 1982	Sgroi, Blick and Porter, 1982 'Any permutation of the exercise of power can be seen within the incestuous family. The overriding theme, however, for the person in power is to meet his or her own needs first and to maintain control within a closed family system' 9p33)
28	<i>The borderline between giving a child physical pleasure through body contact and sexual pleasure through body contact, is a difficult one to draw.</i>	Renshaw, 1982 NSPCC	Renshaw, 1982 'a kiss on the lips, a piggyback ride, breast feeding... These acts may quite normally be designed to give affectionate stimulation to a child but may quite accidentally trigger a sexual response in the child or relative. A responsible, sensitive parent may recognise the sexual aspect and explain to the child that the boundary between affectionate and sexual feelings is narrow and must be avoided in future (p20) /When desexualised affection is not learned in the family, incest occurs' (p7). NSPCC leaflet 'Children can enjoy physical play but if your child feels uncomfortable it is time to stop'
30	<i>Child sexual abuse would have a very different meaning in a society where it was considered natural and normal for adults and children to share sexual enjoyment.</i>	Shultz, 1982 A view that is commonly expressed in the literature on Peadophilia (e.g. Currier, 1981; Randall; O'Carroll, 1980).	Randall, 1992 'Among the ancient Greeks and Romans there was certainly no attempt to shield children from sexual experiences. On the contrary, children not only observed adults engaged in various sexual activities but they often joined in, apparently with considerable enthusiasm'(p25)
31	<i>The tradition of family secrecy should not be blamed when child sexual abuse escapes detection.</i>	Dominelli, L. (1986) Archard, 1990 Group Interview	Dominelli, 1986 'A definitive feature of incest is that it happens in the family setting. Thus, it is practised by individual men who wield tremendous authority over the individual girl. the private setting in which it occurs, combined with the socially sanctioned notion of absolute parental authority over her, isolates her and makes it extremely difficult for her to seek outside intervention when incest takes place' (p9) Group interview with colleagues and friends at the open University: 'The other thing is though is the privacy of the family, when a child's being abused they don't know it wasn't normal. I mean you don't know what other families do with each other.

			<p>It's never spoken about so you don't know right from wrong. Most families do things that aren't normal'.</p> <p>Archard, 1990 'The "privacy" of the family protects the abuser in a number of ways. The abuse is literally unobserved, and whilst physical abuse may display itself...child sexual abuse has no obvious public face...many victims of abuse have subsequently reported that they did not think of their abuse as anything other than natural, as what happened within even "normal" families. (p192)</p>
35	<i>Whatever name we may call the adult client of a child prostitute, 'child abuser' is not the right one.</i>	Ennew, 1986	Ennew, 1986 '[A] sexual partner who thinks of sex as 'something on person does to another' is not only objectifying the person (adult or child) with whom he has sex, he is also objectifying himself. In sexual exploitation there are only victims'(p7)
36	<i>By the year 2000, I expect a new social problem will have replaced child sexual abuse as a focus of public concern.</i>	Group interview with child protection workers Jenkins, 1992	Group interview with child protection workers '...I think the edge [via child sexual abuse] has gone off it a little bit...especially in the area [city] that I work in and the priority has gone off it a bit. And I find that disconcerting and worrying'
37	<i>An effective definition of child sexual abuse must draw upon notions of the child's basic human rights.</i>	Dominelli, 1986	Dominelli, 1986 '[F]eminists must fight for an end to the definition of children as parental property and struggle for children's inalienable and socially recognised rights even though this may mean the loss of an area of control for women' (p21)
39	<i>Making parents frightened of being physically close to their children is not a way of reducing the risk of child sexual abuse, it is a form of abuse.</i>	Farrell, 1977 Group interview with health care professionals Renshaw, 1982	<p>Farrell, 1977 'Millions of people who are now refraining from touching, holding, and gently caressing their children, when that is really part of a caring, loving expression, are repressing the sexuality of a lot of children and themselves...' (in Herman and Hirschman, 1981:25)</p> <p>Individual interview with a male clinical psychologist : 'I remember one particular person I spoke to who said he'd used to play a game with his toddler where he used to run around on his hands and knees chasing the toddler and biting his bum, and he kept saying I don't think that I can do that any more'</p>
41	<i>All children suffer from sexual abuse in the sense that</i>	Kelly 1988	Kelly, 1988 'One aspect of the issue of vulnerability was

	<i>the threat of it is always there.</i>	View expressed in self-help group for survivors of sexual abuse	specific to my daughter, then ten. As I read more about incest and child sexual abuse I became increasingly distrustful of all men...I became concerned to protect her from what seemed, at that point, almost inevitability'(p16-7)
44	<i>The rich and influential child sexual abuser has much the same chance of being successfully prosecuted as an abuser from the working classes.</i>	Search, 1988 Group interview with NSPCC child protection workers	Search, 1988 'The bias in statistics is most probably due to the fact that families on low incomes...are more likely to come into contact with agencies like the social services and the police than middle class families, and therefore abuse in those families is more likely to be picked up.' (p16) Group interview with NSPCC child protection Social Workers in Leeds [m] I think it's too simple an argument that they're immature and they're incompetent. And you say Yeah, they're the ones who get caught. Presumably all the worst burglar are the ones in jail. All the bloody clever ones are in Spain...' [f] Yes and then there's your social status - the more money you've got the less likely you are to be convicted...'
45	<i>All oppressed groups are at risk of being treated as sexual objects by those in power children are no exception to this.</i>	Sabbage (1989) Kitzinger, 1990	Sabbage 1989 'If you can treat the woman at work as an object with no rights over her own body, and no right to define what she feels uncomfortable with, then you have a licence to treat women in the home in the same way and worse. And of course children have even less power than women, and they are even less likely to object because they take their cues from adults' (p29)
46	<i>Children can be much more damaged by our over reactions and anger to their being sexually abused, than by the abuse itself.</i>	Frude 1988 Maisch 1973 Conte, 1982 Renshaw, 1982 Weeks, 1985 Kinsey, 1948	Frude 1988 'The perception[is]...that the likely result of legal intervention will be damage to the family rather than protection and help (p466). Maisch 1973 '...the harmful effects on the family brought about by the official discovery of the offence and punishment of it are more serious than those which might arise during the course of incest' (p208) Renshaw, 1982 'The resultant panic may be far more traumatic to the child incest partner than the sexual contact from which he or she is to be protected' (p6)

48	<i>A lot of the shock and horror expressed towards child sexual abuse is because people find the idea of childhood sexuality itself difficult to take.</i>	O'Carroll, 1980 Levett, 1994	Levett, 1994 'Girls who masturbate and engage in talk about sexual matters regarded as age inappropriate, who seem preoccupied with their genitalia and those of others, and who relate to adult-defined sexuality, may well be suspected of having been sexually abused. No account is taken of children's sexuality, and the ways in which children learn about their bodies. In fact, sexuality in children tends to be pathologised' (p19)
49	<i>Fundamentally all forms of child sexual abuse boil down to misuse of power.</i>	Clegg, 1990 Bell, 1993	Clegg, 1990 'Sexual abuse is regarded by feminists as abuse of power, providing a moral basis for the definition of abuse. Sexual abuse of children is conceptualised as a sub-species of men's general abuse of power' (p37) Bell, 1993 'thus the feminist analysis do not in fact present incest as simply about violence: it is also about the operations of power'(p59)
52	<i>The term sexual abuse should be restricted to indecent acts upon children.</i>	Kelly, 1988 Sorting-task led group interview	Kelly, 1988 'One possible strategy for developing a feminist definition would be to apply the whole range of terms that we already use in relation to abuse of adult women to the abuse of children - for example flashing, rape, sexual harassment...and sexual assault. It is however, also essential to retain the specific category of incest to designate child sexual abuse by a member of the household or family'(p71) Sorting task-led interview [f] 'I want to nominate 'Carlos' for not being abused considering that in a few weeks' time he will be 16... [m] '...I would like to dispute that I don't think age has got anything to do with it, I should think you can be abused as an 18 year old, 19 year old and a 25 year old...' [f2] 'yes the debate is with the magic threshold of 16...'
53	<i>Ultimately, the recognition of child sexual abuse is a task for medical diagnosis.</i>	Hearne, 1988	Hearne, 1988 'Child abuse is a problematic category for the <i>interplay</i> of professional and related discourses; more particularly it is not a fit subject for medical discourse...For medicine, child abuse <i>qua</i> child abuse is of no interest, for it is dominantly concerned with illness and injury not agency' (p537)
54	<i>Child sexual abuse is a</i>	Guyon, 1933	Guyon, 1933 'if sexual

	<i>symptom of a decline in moral values.</i>		pleasure is freed from all moral implications; if it is looked upon as consisting merely in the legitimate exercise of the sexual sense for its own ends, incest is no more than a word, and the thing itself is ethically indifferent' (p307)
55	<i>The kind of education programmes designed to alert children to the risk of sexual abuse, instead of protecting them may simply destroy their childhood innocence.</i>	Underwager and Wakefield, 1993 Kitzinger, 1992 Group interview	<p>Kitzinger, 1992 '...it is the notion of innocence which prevents some people from telling children about incest...because they do not want to "corrupt the few years of innocence that should be every child's right" ((p162)</p> <p>Member of a mother's and toddler's group [f] 'I mean I don't want to disabuse myself of my belief in human nature that there are people out there who could do terrible things to a child...I would ask myself what's the probability of my child being molested and I would have rated it as one in ten thousand and I don't back horses at those odds...I would rather her protect them from that knowledge.'</p> <p>Group interview [f] 'I do wonder how much awareness there is in a child who hasn't been hurt in any way off what it means [sexual abuse]. I mean children have so little understanding of sexuality except in things like picture books.</p> <p>Krivacska, 1992 '...you cannot explicitly teach a child about child sexual misuse, without first providing instruction to that child about sex and sexuality...In our attempt to prevent child sexual abuse, we may very well be preventing the normal development of childhood sexuality...' (p109).</p>
58	<i>Where men monopolise the power in a household, there is no hope of reducing the incidence of sexual abuse in the family.</i>	Ward, 1980 Herman with Hirschman, 1981 Rush, 1980 Araji and Finkelhor, 1986 Grendon	<p>Herman with Hirschman, 1981 'Male supremacy invests fathers with immense powers over their children, especially their daughters. In any culture, the greater the degree of male supremacy...the more frequently one might expect that on father daughter incest to be violated'. (p62)</p> <p>Convicted sex offender in group therapy session 'I was in control of everything, they were all afraid of me and I used it to get my own way-what I wanted'</p>
62	<i>For all the honeyed words of the paedophile lobby a child sexual abuser remains a</i>	Item derived from the views expressed in interviews and informal conversations.	Group interview with colleagues and friends at the Open University: 'I know

	<i>pervert in my book.</i>		someone who described paedophiles as "gentle people", I wouldn't find it that easy to be open-minded. I think if I was meeting someone who was a known abuser of children, no matter what they said, or whatever they were like, I would find it very hard not to see that person with a monster head'
63	<i>Every adult bears a responsibility when a child in their community has been sexually abused.</i>	Sabbage, 1989 Self help group for adults sexually abused as children	Sabbage, 1989 quotes a mother of an abused child 'Our behaviour is essentially the same as the offenders' as long as we deny incest (and sexual abuse) its reality. We are just as guilty as the men. Every person who shrank away, who disbelieved, who did not 'want to get involved' was an accomplice to a child molester, actively empowering his denial that makes it possible for him to victimise children...We must acknowledge our personal responsibility' (p30)
64	<i>Child sexual abuse is not a 'thing' that happens to children, but a category society has created.</i>	Guyon, 1933 Righton, 1981	Guyon, 1933 'The inevitable conclusion, for all those who are not hypnotised by words and are able to penetrate to the underlying realities, is that the rules of incest are purely conventional in nature, existing only in the brains of men...' (p308) Righton, 1981 'I see no reason to think that an attraction to children...is either more or less mysterious...than a penchant for redheads. The important difference between them rests not on the dubious assumption that one is 'normal' and the other so perverse as to require social explanation, but on the <i>social</i> rule which permits adult men to have sex with redheads if both please, but forbids them to do so with children.' (p37)
68	<i>We should keep politics out of the battle against child sexual abuse.</i>	Sabbage, 1989 Clegg, 1994	Sabbage, 1989 'Probably the most dangerous threat that a feminist analysis of sexual abuse poses is that it genuinely <i>does</i> challenge the status quo. Not in the sense of holding an axe above the heads or testicles of all fathers, eager to destroy family life, as the mainstream media would have us believe, but in the sense of changing the power imbalance in society' (p29)

Some examples of the derivation of items used in the Social Policy Q-sort

Item No	Item	Examples of sources of information	Illustrations
2	<i>We should allow a young person to consent to sex once they understand all that is involved.</i>	<p>Plummer, 1981</p> <p>Finkelhor, 1979, 1984</p> <p>A view that was expressed by 'Andrew' during informal interviews.</p> <p>This view was also contested in a number of feminist-informed conferences and in most of the interviews conducted for this research.</p>	<p>Plummer, 1981 '...the child whose sexuality is affronted is not seen as a free moral agent capable of exercising rational choice. Hence, along with other groups such as the mentally handicapped, the child's rights gave to be protected and paedophilia becomes an infringement of such rights...the cornerstone of the problem here seems to be the issues of consent (the child cannot) and inequality (the child is exploited). (p238)</p> <p>Gray-Fow, 1987 '[A] child's consent to sexual abuse does not alter the abusive nature of the act...the underlying premise is that for equity to prevail there has to exist a degree of knowledge, experience, and accrued wisdom, none of which can be presumed present in someone whose very few years make their existence likely' (p462)</p>
3	<i>A major key to improving the way we tackle child sexual abuse is to ensure that everybody who works in this area is properly trained.</i>	<p>The extract form an interview with a mother whose child had been sexually abused describes the treatment she received at her local police station following an allegation of abuse on her 9 year old daughter. The extract highlights the need for training not just around investigative and procedural training, but also dealing sensitively cases.</p> <p>[Item used by Stainton Rogers and Stainton Rogers, 1989]</p>	<p>Mother of sexually abused child 'I was there [at the police station]...And we sort of get pushed from pillar to post. "Now come on we're going to the doctor's". And she was rules out. "We're going back down to the station...Just go in this room but don't talk 'cos he's [the abuser] is in the next room to you...He' gone home now you can't go yet". I mean I had a six month old baby wanting feeding I had to go. "Just ring your husband and tell him how to make the baby's bottle." He's never made a baby's bottle in his life. "Just tell him over the 'phen, give him instructions - you can't leave yet...We were kept there 'till gone one in the morning and given a bus timetable to get home and he get ride in car [police car].</p>
5	<i>Policy over child sexual abuse needs to accept that psychologically children are far tougher and more resilient than is generally recognised.</i>	<p>Yourkoglu and Kempf, 1966</p>	<p>Yourkoglu and Kempf (1966) '...the children were not seriously or permanently impaired psychologically. It was thought that their ability to withstand this trauma resulted from having</p>

			developed healthy ego functioning prior to the incest experience. (P124).
6	<i>We need to put more resources into the treatment and counselling of child sexual abusers.</i>	This view formed the basis of the work conducted at HMP Grendon	
8	More than anything, to reduce child sexual abuse we need a fundamental change in social attitudes.	Brongersma, 1991 Dominelli, 1986 [paedophiles, feminist]	Brongersma, 1991 'The day must come when society will redeem the misery so needlessly inflicted on adults who feel sexual love for children. Until then the fate of the paedophile will be hard. (p40) Dominelli, 1986 'engaging in exposing the dynamics of incest abuse and forcing society to participate in a massive consciousness-raising enterprise may offer more in the long term amelioration of women and children's welfare and the transformation of social relations between men and women '(p13)/Society must become a non-patriarchal, child centred society in a way that it currently is not' (p21)
9	<i>Increasing the likelihood of detection and giving the severest of punishments on conviction are the surest means to stamp out child sexual abuse.</i>	The derivation of this item was also influenced by the discussion which took place in a self-help group for mothers of sexually abused children and self-help group survivors of sexual abuse.	Group 'The sanctions around to stop the behaviour aren't really as strong as people think. I mean you look at offences and possible sentencing and I mean they are very minimal and that's even if you get to that stage. The chances of being caught are very low even though I shouldn't say that really and even if they are caught the chances of getting off are very high.
12	<i>To reduce child sexual abuse, social and childcare workers need more powers not fewer.</i>	Individual interview with a male social worker Group interview with NSPCC child protection social workers in Leeds	Individual interview with a male social worker 'It seems to me that social services are being used by society as another convenient solution because we are the "do something brigade". One of the frightening things is to think about the Children Act and it feels to me that the social services have bitten off far more than it can chew. We're responsible for this and that, we're responsible for everything...'
13	<i>Convicted child sexual abusers should be shut away from the community for the rest of their natural lives.</i>	Views expressed in 'everyday' conversations	
14	<i>Surgery offers the best and most permanent solution to the problem of child sexual abuse.</i>	McConville, 1981 Views expressed in everyday conversations	McConville, 1981 'The case for chemical or surgical disablement is that if the offending impulse or capacity is removed it is possible to release to a normal life a person for

			whom imprisonment would otherwise be unavoidable.'(p99) Group interview with mothers of sexually abused children 'I know what will stop them - castrate the lot of them'
16	<i>We need to be very careful to ensure that professional material about child sexual abuse does not fall into the wrong hands.</i>	Concerns expressed in HMP Grendon	
20	<i>We need to put more resources into the treatment and counselling of sexually abused children.</i>	View commonly discussed in self-help group for mothers of sexually abused children and in the self-help group for survivors of sexual abuse.	
21	<i>Sexually abused children who wish to stay with their families should not be forced to be separated from them.</i>	Renshaw, 1982 Group interview with mothers of sexually abused children	Renshaw 1982, 'Professional intervention at present, unfortunately, has a tendency to break up the family immediately...To "save" the child, the family is destroyed' (p6) Group interview with mothers of sexually abused children 'Your whole life is took over [following the abuse]...what the child wants is 99.5% your responsibility and yet when the child is asked what it wants it's totally ignored. My children were in care categorically saying We want to go home and yet social services will write down an affidavit saying that they don't want to see their mother they don't want to go home'.
24	<i>Law should oblige everybody, to report child sexual abuse if they suspect it.</i>	Group interview with health care professionals Conference presentation - Von Montfoort,	Group interview with health care professionals : 'In one instance we were actually told that that's the village idiot and were basically told that his father had sex with him but we didn't need to act on it because he was probably unaware that there was any problem.' Conference presentation - Von Montfoort (IPSCAN, 1990) 'The Dutch system of child protection is based around 'confidential doctors'. The doctors are not obliged to report abuse if they suspect it but have the power of discretion to negotiate with families about what is to be done, so the vast amount of child abuse, particularly as it relates to middle class households, is dealt with in a way that is never reported to the authorities or appears on the statistics. ' (paraphrased)
25	<i>We should abolish some</i>	West, 1981	West 1981, 'The high

	<i>categories of 'child sexual abuse' by modifying certain of our laws, e.g. the 'age of consent'.</i>		proportion of young female victims of indecent assault is largely a consequence of the fact that girls under 16 cannot give legal consent to sexual activity, so that all sexual incidents on which they are involved are classed as "assaults" (p258)
26	<i>Resources should be allocated to make psychological counselling and therapy freely available on the NHS to help those adults who were sexually abused as children.</i>	This view was expressed in a number of interviews conducted for this research.	<p>Group interview with mothers of sexually abused child 'well if there's no cure [for sexual abuser] why do they spend all that money. Why are they spending all that money on something which isn't working when they could put the money into something for helping children'.</p> <p>Sorting task led group interviews with children's nurses in Brighton: [f] 'I know a women who's 46/47 and she was abused and told nobody. She's had about 5 nervous breakdowns because of it. In the past there was none to tell and no one to help - there is no excuse nowadays'</p> <p>Social worker taking part in a sorting task led group interview with NSPCC child protection social workers in Birmingham [f] ...everything seems to focus on detecting the abuse and then there's virtually nothing afterwards. No solutions, no services offered no therapy no nothing'</p>
27	<i>Current social policy over child sexual abuse has neither a good theory, nor a body of good evidence to guide it.</i>	Haugaard and Emery, 1988 Clegg, 1990 Conte, 1982 Chandler, 1982	<p>Conte, 1982 'We desperately need rigorous research on virtually every aspect of sexual abuse' (p15)/The phenomenon of sexual abuse is complex, including a wide range of acts, victims, offenders, and psychosocial contexts. It is not at all clear if current theoretical frames of reference are adequate for understanding these phenomenon. although they may be quite adequate, however, we will not know until we have more carefully analysed these theories, subjected them to empirical test, and determined the extent to which they accurately describe and explain the wide range of phenomena which is sexual abuse' (p16)</p> <p>Chandler, 1982 The literature on the sexual abuse of children is still a potpourri of untested theories, poorly</p>

			designed case studies, single-case insights, and a research tradition based on small clinical samples, making generalisations difficult and resulting in a weak knowledge base for social work practice' (p51)
32	<i>The identification of child sexual abuse should never be based on medical diagnosis alone.</i>	Kelly, 1988 Geddis, Taylor and Henaghan, 1990 Search, 1988	Kelly, 1988 'The medicalization of sexual abuse has reduced a social and political issue into a matter of "diagnosis" (p14). Geddis, Taylor and Henaghan, 1990 'The authors recorded details of anal findings which they claimed established the diagnosis of sexual abuse. The most important physical sign was held to be that of anal dilatation...The more cautious clinician would have stopped short of total acceptance if the diagnostic certainty.' (p374) Search, 1988 'The very nature of sexual abuse means that there are rarely witnesses. And since most child abuse does not involve penetration, there are seldom-physical signs'. (p9)
33	<i>Trying to understand why sexual abusers offend is more likely to help us reduce child sexual abuse than is punishing them.</i>	Groth, Hobson and Gary, 1982 This view was argued and debated in a number of interviews conducted for this research.	Groth, Hobson and Gary, 1982 'If we are genuinely concerned about combating the sexual victimisation of children we must be humanistic in our attitudes towards the offender so that we don't inadvertently perpetuate the problem' (p131) Health visitor taking part in a sorting-task led group discussion with health care professionals in Oxford: 'People don't want to look at the abusers because they're kind of evil and filthy and they just need locking up. If you start helping them and looking at why they do it then you have to look at your own motivation and your own view of children, don't you' 'Everyday' conversation with a colleague: 'I suppose if I was raped I wouldn't like to think that this guy was having somebody trying to help him with his problem'.
34	<i>Our present policies over child sexual abuse have the effect of punishing the young for the failings of their families and of society in general.</i>	Renshaw, 1982 Smart, 1989	Renshaw, 1982 'For the child, institutional care or a series of foster placements may mean emotional neglect and more physical abuse' (p6)

35	<i>Whenever a parent passes the intimate care of their child on to someone else, they should keep in mind the risk of sexual abuse.</i>	Sorting task led group interview View also reflected in concerns about the risks posed by bay sitters and child carers – expressed in 'everyday' conversations.	Sorting task led group interview with children's nurses in Brighton: I can remember looking after a little boy who was about 4...His mother and I had shared child care since our children were a few months old...His mother gave me some cream and...said...'his scorum...needs creaming up...She would never have asked my husband or her husband to do the same thing...
40	We should strive to re-educate parents from immigrant cultures that continue with practices like female genital mutilation (female circumcision).	Item developed from individual sorting task led interview with a representative from 'grass roots' an organisation committed to the eradication of 'female genital mutilation'	Female circumcision is the wrong word to use and it puts this behaviour in the wrong light what we are talking about here is female genital mutilation. It is a form of child sexual abuse'
42	<i>Our policies about child sexual abuse need to strike the right balance between protecting children and preserving family privacy.</i>	Archard, 1990	Archard, 1990 'A familiar complaint of social workers is that they are, in their everyday work, impaled on the horns of a dilemma. Over-zealous intrusion into the lives of families whose behaviour does not warrant such interference brings the charge that rights have been violated and innocents caused to unnecessarily suffer. On the other hand adequate failure to monitor the private activities of abusing parents has meant children being left to suffer lives which are, in every sense, "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish, short" (p183)
43	<i>It will never be possible to identify 'high risk families' effectively enough to make much of a dent in the child sexual abuse statistics.</i>	Clegg, 1990	Clegg, 1990 'the mass of data on risk factors is a statistical chimera since the predictive value for any particular case can be as low as 3 per cent'
46	<i>Once children can look after their own intimate care (washing themselves, going to the toilet etc.) they should be left to do it for themselves.</i>	This item was derived from a number of views that were argued and debated in groups interviews.	Group interview with health care professionals [f] 'kids give indications as they are living with you about what they want. So for example if there is genital soreness there has to be some negotiation with the child about what needs to happen in order to make that soreness better'
50	We need to get away from the idea that sex between people of different generations is wrong.	Brongersma, 1991 Plummer, 1981 Sandfort, 1992 View expressed by 'Andrew' during informal conversations.	Plummer, 1981 '[P]edophilia may help the child (a) relate closely with adults outside the limited family context and thereby help reduce age divisions in society, (b) in his or her emotional and sexual development when parents abrogate their responsibilities in this, and (c) find parental substitutes and guidance in situations of parental neglect'(p243)

51	<i>There is no merit to the idea of keeping a register of potential child sexual abusers.</i>	View debated in a number of practitioner based conferences on child sexual abuse.	
52	<i>Help should be given to families where sexual abuse has taken place to restore healthy functioning.</i>	Group interviews with with mothers of sexually abused child WPC's specialising in child protection, Leeds	Mother of sexually abused child 'we should get compensation, we've got to protect our kids. We've got to protect our own' WPC: 'I used to think "God I'd never be able to work with a perpetrator 'cos I'd want to kill the bastard...but when you're actually there you don't feel like that because that perpetrator's might be important to the that child. Whatever's happened - especially if it's the father'
53	<i>If we do not treat child sexual abusers as human they will act as less than humans and continue to abuse.</i>	Groth, Hobson, and Gary, 1982	Groth, Hobson and Gary, 1982 'If part of the reason the offender turns to children is because he is intimidated by adults and he is then placed in a prison setting which exposes him to threats of harm, humiliation, exploitation and physical abuse at the hands of other inmates, this may serve only to reinforce his fear, distrust, and avoidance of adults and encourage his seeking out children whom he perceives will not hate or hurt him'. (p131)
54	<i>People who have sexually abused should be given every chance to sort themselves out and wipe the slate clean.</i>	Informed by the discursive context at HMP Grendon.	
58	<i>Convicted child sexual abusers should be forced to wear some visible form of identification.</i>	Survivors, everyday discourse McConville, 1981	McConville, 1981 '...forms of penalty have included imprisonment and, to a lesser extent, mutilation, branding and close surveillance... Western industrialised countries, however, have abandoned all but a few of these punishment'(p97) Group interview with mothers of sexually abused children 'why can't they be castrated - the lot of them? They should have their hands cut off, tongues cut out and then they can't do it. They should have pervert stamped right across their head do it can't come off.'
59	<i>Mothers need to be constantly on their guard against encouraging their daughters into ways of behaving that may be misunderstood by men.</i>	Hooper, 1987 Nelson, 1982 Sorting task interview with teachers	Sorting task led group interviews with teachers [f] '...my older daughter's boyfriend and his mates might be in the house when she's [8 year old daughter] romping around in a short nightie and I see them looking embarrassed and I

			say to "her pull your nightie down", or I'd say to her "Don't sit there with your legs up in the air while there's people in the house" - even if she's got her pants on. If I'm honest partly it's to do with them being embarrassed but it's also about not wanting her to act like that in front of men. I'm not worried in the same way with women'
61	<i>In expecting people to provide therapeutic help to child sexual abusers we need to be aware that few can withstand such contact, without their own sexuality being affected.</i>	View discussed at the 'Working with the Sex offender' Conference, 1990	
63	<i>To reduce child sexual abuse in the family children must be taught that there is nothing wrong with 'telling on their parents'.</i>	This item was used because it was reflected in many of the discussions held in the self-help group for survivors of sexual abuse. [Item used by Stainton Rogers and Stainton Rogers, 1989]	
64	<i>Child sexual abusers who infect their victims with the HIV virus should expect to find themselves on trial for their lives.</i>	Brongersma, 1991	Brongersma, 1991 'Sexual contact between adults and children has been an emotive subject in Western society for such a considerable time, and it can be argued that this has resulted to injustice to the older and younger partners in such relationships. This situation, in which irrationality and prejudice are influences, is likely to be made worse by the arrival of the scourge of AIDS now adding a physical dimension to the moral panic already so well established' (p32)
65	<i>Giving a boy a non-sexist upbringing is the best way a parent can protect the little girls of tomorrow.</i>	Bayer and Connors, 1988	Bayer and Connors 1988 '...by and large, men and boys are still taught to deny their feelings and needs particularly ones involving vulnerability. They are taught that, in order to be male, they need to be effective, in control and powerful...most abusers are men who were strongly affected by this socialisation...' (p13)
66	<i>Girls should be taught to value their virginity, that way they will fight harder to keep it.</i>	O'Carroll, 1980 Randall, 1992 Storr, 1964	Randall, 1992 'The girl herself is said to have <i>lost</i> her virginity, as though something valuable about her has been destroyed. If we had a positive attitude towards sex, we would surely ask in terms of her having <i>gained</i> a new enriching experience'. (p2) Storr, 1964 'It is presumably because of the high value which society attaches to female virginity that it is assaults upon girls which most shock the public' (p100)

67	<i>Those whose work brings them into contact with children should be 'positively vetted', to be sure that nobody with a 'skeleton in the cupboard' is given the chance to sexually abuse our children.</i>	Wyre, 1987 Group interview with mothers of sexually abused children	Wyre, 1987 'People expect paedophiles to be recognisable, to have horns and a tail, but they are just ordinary men who are able to hide their sexual attraction to young children. In fact some hide it so well they get jobs working with children' (p103) Mother of sexually abused child: 'I felt very guilty...If I could get hold of him I would blast him for what he has done. He's ruined three lives. Well more now somewhere. He's still working too - and that's something else that's annoying - you don't get vetted. So send your children or you go yourself to any holiday camp to the "auntie's" and the "uncles" and there's not one of them vetted. And he was a Blue Coat.
68	<i>We need to promote a policy where children are given the opportunity to learn that their bodies are their property, and that nobody has the right to touch them in ways they do not like.</i>	Anderson, 1979 Sabbage, 1989	Anderson, 1979 'From the children a number of things were learned. One was that children can tell the difference between touch which they experience to be caring and touch which is exploitative' (p793) Sabbage, 1989 'Children are the most powerless people in our society. Historically they have very little choice about what they do...and are given no choice about when and where they are cuddled. If we empower them we given their sovereignty over their minds and bodies...' (p30)
69	<i>Fears about horrific possibilities like 'snuff movies' and satanic abuse must not be allowed to influence our approach to child sexual abuse as a whole.</i>	Core with Harrison, 1991 This view is one that is commonly expressed in the paedophile literature.	Frude 1988 'Although it is common to speak of any sexual involvement with a child as an 'attack', this can promote a grossly distorted view of the actual behaviour involved' (p467) View expressed by 'Andrew' in an informal interview: Paedophiles are as shocked...[and] morally outraged as the next person at the thought of children being raped or maimed or even killed...but this has as much to do with true paedophilia as the rape of women...

Some examples of the derivation of items used the Explanations for Child Sexual Abuse Q-Sort

Item No	Item	Examples of sources of Information	Illustrations
1	All other things being equal, the older the child the more we should accept the idea that they may have chosen to get involved in a relationship with an adult.	Clegg, 1990 Brongersma, 1991 O'Carroll, 1980	Clegg, 1990 'Consent here is not individually given or refused, rather a whole group of people are deemed to be outside the legitimate discourse of consent; the issue is not that children give or refuse consent but that they actually do not possess that capacity in relation to adult-child sexuality. The argument is posed in moral terms and therefore any empirical evidence suggesting that in some circumstances older children may be both psychologically and socially capable of giving informed consent is rendered inadmissible' (p33) Brongersma, 1991, a self declared paedophile, argues on the matter of sexual liberty that ...'it is the individual's absolute right to dispose of his or her own body for sexual purposes and to decide freely if, with whom, when, where, how and how long he or she wants to have sex' (p33)
2	The woman who knows about and colludes with child sexual abuse often escapes the punishment that her partner is likely to suffer.	Hooper, 1987 Group interview with mothers of sexually abused children	Group interview with mothers of sexually abused children 'Quite often a lot of the time I were in the house. And because I were in the house the child sees it that we knew what was happening, I'd let it happen. Its very hard for a child to understand that we were downstairs in the sitting room and didn't know what was going on...she blamed me for not stopping it
4	Some people get hooked onto child sexual abuse in the same way that others get hooked onto drugs or gambling.	Carnes, 1990 Storr, 1964 A view commonly expressed in the interviews conducted for the purposes of this research.	Carnes, 1990 'A growing understanding of sexual addiction is significant in the field of sexual abuse research and treatment from several perspectives. Many abusers are sex addicts and sexual addiction issues need to be considered in their treatment' (p127).
5	The closer the emotional attachment a person has with a child, the easier it is for that person to become an abuser.	Araji and Finkelhor, 1985, 1986 Expressed in the informal interviews with 'Andrew'	Araji and Finkelhor, 1985 'Some of the most widest cited theories about paedophilia indicate that paedophiles choose children for sexual partners because children have some especially compelling emotional meaning for them. We have called this "emotional congruence" (p20)

6	Single sex education can give individuals a taste for young people of the same sex.	Informal discussion on boarding schools	Informal discussion [m] 'We used to have wanking competitions where we'd wank on a biscuit, the last person to 'come' would have to eat it. It was all done as bit of a joke, but it wasn't really'
7	Generally, child sexual abuse is better understood as a 'spur of the moment' offence rather than as a premeditated one.	Sgroi, Blick and Porter (1982) Wyre, 1987	Sgroi, Blick and Porter, 1982 'Child sexual abuse is not a capricious, unplanned, unpredictable phenomena...the perpetrator can be expected to watch for, or to create, opportunities for private interaction with the child' (p13) Wyre, 1987 'For many years there has been the belief that sex offending is committed by over sexed men who spontaneously attack women and children. I have yet to find this type of offender. each offender has a cycle of behaviour that goes from masturbation fantasy to contact with the victim' (p21)
9	The ways our schools have handled the sex education of the present generation of parents is a factor in the sexual abuse we see today.	Item used in Stainton Rogers and Stainton Rogers (1989) Plummer, 1981 Kutchinsky, 1994	Plummer, 1981 'Education in schools is all too often unpractical and unhelpful because of the lack of general public support and the intense hostility of some minorities to the exposure of children to explicit sexual scenes. In scarcely any other context are children forced into a secret subculture of their own through the failure of communication with their elders' (p264) Kutchinsky, 1994 'If the child has received some sex education, is not frightened about sex generally, and has basic knowledge of the nature of sexual abuse, accidental and brief encounters with strangers are unlikely to produce any serious or lasting effects. Under such circumstances the child is likely to react appropriately to the situation, turning away from indecent exposures, rejecting propositions or attempts at physical contact'(p54)
10	The motivations for the sexual abuse of children are very different from the reasons why people physically abuse or neglect them.	Sorting task-led group interview with healthcare professionals Finkelhor, 1984	'Task-led group interview with health care professionals – [m] discussing scenario 'Children can turn around and say that my father beat me up once, physical abuse is like more acceptable but a child can't turn 'round and say that my 'father touched me up once'
11	Sexually abusing children is a sign of a psychiatric illness requiring medical or psychological treatment.	Dominelli, 1986 Finkelhor, 1986 Raised in group interviews in response to a question on the research outline.	Dominelli, 1986 'Men continually assert their personal interest supersedes women's. That is why labelling the malcest [incest] perpetrator, as a psychological misfit, departing from the benign male norm, is inappropriate'. (p16)
12	Having access to	Wyre, 1988 in	Search, 1988 'peter was convicted of'

	pornographic magazines and videos makes people less likely to sexually abuse children.	Search, 1988 Wyre, 1987 Issues raised in feminist-informed conferences, workshops and training days	sexually abusing teenage girls. "I watched porno films for a long time before I started abusing, and I honestly believe that it did have an effect on the behaviour I got into' (p67)
14	A society that encourages little girls to buy make-up, uses them to sell jeans, and offers them role models like 'Madonna' stimulates the sexual abuse of girls.	Kitzinger, 1992 Search, 1988 A view that was expressed in a number of the interviews conducted for this research. [item used by Stainton Rogers and Stainton Rogers, 1989)	Kitzinger, 1992 Advertising makes use of use of images of young girls made up to look like Marilyn Monroe with slogans such as "innocence is sexier than you think" (p161) Search, 1988 'We express disgust at ten-year-old girls being made to look sexually provocative in pornographic pictures. But we don't object to them being made to look just as provocative in films fashion shots, or glossy advertisements...' (p20)
16	Women, who do not report the sexual abuse of their children, are often so dependent on the man that they are prepared to pay any price to keep him from leaving.	Porter, 1984 Group interview with self-help group for mothers of sexually abused children	Porter 1984 'a wife whose husband is in prison may find herself suddenly not only without a partner but also without a wage earner. She may respond by blaming the child for disclosing the child sexual abuse. She may turn against her daughter, ally herself with the husband in prison, and oust the girl from the family' (p89) Group interviews with mothers of sexually abused children 'I don't care how much you love a fellow, or how much you need the money your children have got to come first...'
18	With child sexual abuse, as for so many other social problems, alcohol abuse has a lot to answer for.	Virkkunen, 1981 Araji and Finkelhor, 1985, 1986 A view that was commonly expressed in the interviews conducted for this research.	Virkkunen, 1981 'The fathers with alcohol problems had a tendency to react explosively within the family, usually under the influence of alcohol. Also, these alcoholics had been under the influence of alcohol, usually at least, at the beginning of the relationship' (p129)
20	Some father-daughter incest arises because they fall in love.	Howell's, 1981 O'Carroll, 1980 A view that was expressed by 'Andrew' the informal interviews conducted with him.	Howell's, 1981 'At an explanatory level, "love affairs" between apparently consenting children and adults have little in common with sadistically motivated child murders' (p83) O'Carroll, 1980 'Sometimes the child feels 'love' for the adult, in a romantic sense...On the adult's side there may of course be romantic, essentially non-parental feelings...' (p168)

21	Incest can occur even in really well adjusted families.	<p>Maisch (1973)</p> <p>Lustig, Dresser, Spellman and Thomas, 1966</p> <p>The validity of this point was debated in a number of the interviews conducted for this research.</p>	<p>Maisch (1973) '...incest is not a cause but the symptom or result of a family whose inner order was as a rule already disturbed before the offence' (p208)</p> <p>Lustig et al, 1966 'The dysfunctional family in which incest occurs has certain general characteristics...The family's differentiation of roles and transactional patterns only superficially resembled those of the functional family' (p38)</p>
22	Sexual abuse is a way of life in some families.	<p>Nelson, 1982</p> <p>Sorting task-led group interviews</p>	<p>Nelson, 1982 'A committed feminist and psychologist who worked in a "problem" housing estate told me incest was a way of life in certain families'. (p39)</p> <p>View expressed by a District nurse in a sorting task-led group interview with health care professionals in Oxford 'I've met families that have intercourse in front of the children and you know they say that is part of their family and "we see nothing wrong with it"...I was shocked and worried about it, but I think it's normal within some families'</p> <p>View expressed by a Health visitor in a sorting task-led group interview: as a child I grew up knowing that there was a particular area down the road that we knew as the warren because my father said they behaved like rabbits and they said that nobody knew who was related to them.</p>
23	Parent-child incest most often involves an on-going sexual relationship.	<p>Frude (1988)</p> <p>Bagley, 1969</p>	<p>Frude 1988 'The evidence suggests that fathers who approach their daughters sexually are often highly positively and emotionally involved with them' (p467)</p> <p>Bagley 'When presented with the opportunity of a sexual relation with the opposite sexed parent, the child enters this relationship not unwillingly, and may participate in it for a period of years' (p514).</p>
26	I accept the notion that child sexual abuse can be an unconscious expression of anger.	<p>Wyre, 1987</p> <p>Driver, 1989</p>	<p>Wyre, 1987 'In the anger rape cycle he sees the rape act or the sexual act as a way of punishing or humiliating or controlling the child, e.g. in one case:" I told her so many times not to wear her pants in bed. We had an argument so I ripped them off and had sex with her". He threatened her with violence for telling. Having committed this act it became a regular occurrence' (p35).</p> <p>Driver, 1989 'In arguing that the offender</p>

			is motivated by aggression, it is implied that he is really not interested in sexual gratification as such. The idea then develops that his behaviour is not <i>sexually</i> oriented at all. This allows us to avoid looking at any connections between male aggression and male sexual pleasure...(p13)
27	Working mothers, by their absence, create the opportunity for child sexual abuse.	Christianisen and Blake, 1990 This items was derived from the debates which took place in a number of interviews about the role of the mother in cases of child sexual abuse.	Christiansen and Blake, 1990 'Rather than find a time when they are entirely alone - when mothers are away working, or siblings are at school, for instance - perpetrators frequently abuse their children when other family members are in the house' (p95)
30	<i>There is no reason why child victims of sexual abuse should go on to become a child sexual abuser themselves.</i>	Kaufman and Zigler, 1987 Bentovim, 1990 Groth, Hobson and Gary, 1982	Kaufman and Zigler, 1987 'Although there is some truth to the notion that abuse is cyclical, there are also many factors that diminish the likelihood of abuse being transmitted across generations. Being maltreated as a child puts one at risk for becoming abusive but the path between these two points is far from direct or inevitable. In the past unqualified acceptance of the intergenerational hypothesis has had many negative consequences. Adults who were maltreated have been told so many times that they will abuse their children that for some it has become a self-fulfilling prophecy. many have broken the cycle are left feeling like walking time bombs' (p191-191) Groth, Hobson and Gary, 1982 '...the sexually victimised child - especially the male - runs a high risk of becoming a sexual victimiser. One way in which the male child may try to combat the feelings of powerlessness inherent in being a victim is to ultimately identify with the aggressor...in an attempt to restore control'. (p138)
31	<i>We need to recognise that the forces of evil may lie behind some of the more perverted forms of child sexual abuse.</i>	Core, 1991	Core, 1991 'When a person sexually abuses a child. Whether within an incestuous relationship or through a network of paedophiles, he is committing an act of depravity that attracts condemnation as a deed of evil'. (p13)
32	<i>The reasons for sex between an adult and an adolescent are very different from the reasons for sex between an adult and a small child.</i>	sorting-task led group interview	Sorting-task led group interview with NSPCC child protection social worker [f] 'I think it would be almost self-evident to suggest that the kind of father who starts a sexual relationship with his daughter at 7 is different from a teenage baby sitter abusing a 3 month old baby in his or her care'

33	<i>For some people, children are sexually alluring because they are 'forbidden fruit'.</i>	Kitzinger, 1988 Righton, 1981	Kitzinger, 1988 'In a society where innocence is a fetish and where men are excited by the idea of defiling the pure and deflowering the virgin, focusing on children's presumed innocence only reinforces men's desire for them as sexual objects' (p80)
34	<i>To be able to make sense of an incident of child sexual abuse we first need to know the gender of the victim and of the abuser.</i>	Bolton, Morris and MacEachron, 1989 Individual Interview Kempe and Kempe, 1984 Television documentary on BBC about male rape (broadcast 23/7/91)	Individual Interview with a female SCOSAC worker 'Boys are brought up to experience the world differently, they are taught to explore and stick things in. They are predatory. The way boys are going to experience abuse is going to be different to girls - they are invaded by the whole experience' Kempe and Kempe, 1984 'Boys do worse than girls as victims of sexual abuse do. Both mother-son and father-son incest leave a boy with such severe emotional insult that emotional growth is blocked...Incest, then, can be ruinous for the male while it can be overcome with, or sometimes without help by many girls (p190)
38	<i>It is helpful to look at child sexual abuse as a symptom of an underlying personal problem or crisis in the abuser.</i>	Groth, Hobson and Gary, 1982 This view was debated in conferences, workshops attended.	Groth, Hobson and Gary, 1982 'Child molestation is the sexual expression of non-sexual needs and unresolved life issues'(p137). 'Paedophilia [is] the symptom that emerges in response to psychological stress'(p138)
40	<i>Adults have the need to express themselves in sexual relationships; sexual abuse may occur if an individual is unable to meet such needs in more conventional ways.</i>	Storr, 1964 Nelson, 1982 Araji and Finkelhor, 1985, 1986 Group interview	Group with colleagues and friends at the Open University [m] '...maybe it's the lack of success in becoming adultly sexual...if people in adolescence are told "no" during their experimentations enough times I suppose "no" becomes their expectation so you've got to get somebody who doesn't know how to say no' Storr, 1964 'The man who suffers from paedophilia [does so] ...not from superfluity of lust, but rather because of a timid inability to make contact with contemporaries that a man generally finds children form the focus of his sexual interest' (p102). Araji and Finkelhor, 1986 '[Some] individuals are blocked in their ability to meet their sexual and emotional needs in adult heterosexual relationships...For some reason, in the child molester these normal tendencies are blocked, and thus the sexual interest orients towards children' p(106)
42	<i>We will never fully understand why a man is sexually abusing a child in the family, unless we look to the behaviour of the woman.</i>	Lustig, Dresser, Spellman and Murray, 1966 Hooper, 1987	Lustig, Dresser, Spellman and Murray, 1966 'the mother's role in facilitating the incestuous relationship involved both strong unconscious hostility toward the daughter and considerable dependency upon her as a substitute wife-mother'. (P34)'Despite the overt culpability of the

			fathers, we were impressed with their psychological passivity in the transactions leading to incest. The mother appeared to be the cornerstone in the pathological family system'. (p39)
43	<i>The reasons why men sexually abuse children and why women do so are fundamentally the same.</i>	Wilkins, 1990 Faller, 1987	<p>Wilkins, 1990 'Doctors need to become sensitised to the extent of sexual abuse by women and research must be undertaken to identify similarities and differences between men and women offenders - especially with regards to the motivation to abuse, the selection of victims, the efficacy of treatment, and the propensity to abuse again.</p> <p>Faller, 1987 '[i]t appears the circumstances that lead women to sexually abuse children can be differentiated from those causing men to do so'(p275)</p>
45	<i>Paedophilia in women is one of the great-unrecognised child abuse problems of our time.</i>	Kelly, 1989 Elliott, 1993 Finkelhor and Russell, 1984 Allen, 1990	<p>Kelly, 1989 'I do not want to dismiss the fact that a few women do sexually abuse children. What concerns me is the way evidence we <i>do</i> have is invoked to support an ideological position. By asserting that lots of women abuse too, they haven't found the survivors yet, the "new experts" ...[are] refusing to recognise men's power in the worlds and in the family' (p15)</p> <p>Finkelhor and Russell, 1984 argue that the literature 'leads fairly persuasively to the conclusion that the traditional view about child molestation as a primary male deviation is correct. Women do not use children for their own direct sexual gratification very frequently' (p112)</p> <p>Wilkins, 1990 'Despite the feminist tenant "No penis, no harm", clearly sexual abuse can longer be considered the exclusive preserve of men' (p1154)</p>
46	<i>Sex with a child often has no more complicated an explanation than it was the most convenient way for somebody to fulfil sexual needs.</i>	West, 1981 Kutchinsky, 1994 Group interview with mothers of sexually abused children	<p>West, 1981 'A proportion of paedophilic acts represent substitute gratification sought by men in their desire for an adult partner' (p264)</p> <p>Kutchinsky, 1994 'Most child molesters, how ever are <i>not</i> particularly attracted to children, but merely seeking sexual stimulation through encounters with children to compensate for a preferred, but unobtainable sexual relationship with an adult'(p54)</p> <p>Interview with a member of a self-help group for mothers of sexually abused children: 'My ex husband was lousy in bed. I think if he got a child they can't compare. They can't turn round and say "bloody lousy that was bloody rubbish"....They feel inadequate...and the child makes them feel that they can do better'</p>

48	<i>There is something about the stepfathering role, which seems to release sexually abusive tendencies.</i>	Russell, 1984	<p>Porter, 1984 'For stepfathers and foster fathers the problem does not seem to be only in the absence of the biological bond. Stepfathers are often introduced into the family at, or shortly before, evidence of emerging sexuality in older children. These fathers may not have experienced the maturing effects of bringing up their own children, which strengthen the incest taboo...' (p9)</p> <p>Russell (1984) reports that women who were raised by stepfathers had an almost 8 fold increased risk of sexual victimisation.</p>
49	<i>It is helpful to see child sexual abuse as resulting from distorted thinking/living in a world of 'unreality'.</i>	<p>Sgroi, Blick and Porter, 1982</p> <p>Abel, Becker, Cunningham-Rathner, 1984</p>	<p>Sgroi, Blick and Porter, 1982 'Incest perpetrators tend to perceive the outside world as hostile and convey this perception to the child as both a reason and an excuse for incestuous sexual behaviour' (p27)</p> <p>Abel, Becker, Cunningham-Rathner, 1984 'A perplexing world still remains for the adult who is attracted to children. What is he to do, given his arousal pattern and society's disapproval of his sexual behaviour with children? at present it appears that he changes the inner world in which he lives by developing cognition's and beliefs that support his behaviour' (p101)</p>
51	<i>Those cultures, which have extended families e.g. where grandparents, aunts etc. are very much part of the family, provide a high level of protection for children from sexual abuse.</i>	Conference delegate	Conference delegate, [m] 'We don't have child abuse in our country [India] because we have the extended family and that protects the children'
52	<i>Child sexual abuse and 'wife beating' have similar explanations.</i>	<p>Hacking, 1991</p> <p>This item was derived from a number of feminist-informed views that were expressed during the interviews conducted for this research.</p>	Hacking, 1991 'Without feminism there is little likelihood that that the idea of child abuse would so quickly have absorbed the notion of the sexual abuse of children. Wife assault and child assault have become assimilated and the entire phenomenon of child abuse seen as one more aspect of patriarchal domination' (p260)
53	<i>Modern family life exposes men to temptations to sexually abuse which their fathers and grandfathers never faced.</i>	Sorting task led interview with members of a mothers and toddlers group	<p>Sorting task-led interview with members of a mother and toddlers group: [f] 'My 17 year old girl came in and said "Oh dear" she said, " I have just made GY [her stepfather] blush". And I said "What?" She said "I just popped into your bedroom to borrow a pair of earrings..." And she was just wearing a towel loosely around her but only just ... and she said he went bright red..."</p> <p>As above [f] '...My daughter would sit in the garden topless sunbathing and my husband would walk past and try not to</p>

			look at her because I suppose he does not feel comfortable with her..."
56	<i>The very position of trust that women have traditionally held over the care of children has also allowed them to sexually abuse unrecognised.</i>	Plummer, 1981 Kelly, 1989 Righton, 1981 Allen, 1990	Plummer, 1981 '[A] major problem arises here because of the culturally specific expectations of men and women by which men are more routinely viewed as "sexual" while women are more routinely viewed as being less so, and simultaneously more "emotional" and "maternal". These expectations positively encourage women - through their nurturing, maternal role - to have close bodily contact with children; a woman who caresses a child is not viewed with suspicion, for she is simply being "maternal". the same conduct from a man would usually invite suspicion...' (P228)
57	<i>The more we have a society based around couples doing things together, the more likely it is that one of those things will be the sexual abuse of children.</i>	Coulborn Faller, 1987 O'Conner, 1987, 1988	O'Conner, 1988 'Nearly all the women in the unlawful sexual intercourse group were convicted of adding and abetting a male, rather than being the instigator themselves'(p45)
58	<i>As women progressively take over traditionally male roles and activities, they are also more likely to take over male vices like child sexual abuse.</i>	Allen, 1990 Schoenewolf, 1991 Individual interview	Individual interview with male A-level psychology student [m] 'Because of feminism women are more powerful nowadays, and I suppose if they have the same power as men they'll act like them also' Schoenewolf, 1991 'Power, as they say corrupts, and the power that women now have over men has taken the very form of disarrangement of men and male sexuality that feminists say men are guilty of with regard to women.' (p341)
60	<i>The explanations for child sexual abuse in one culture will not necessarily work in another culture.</i>	DeMause, 1991 - Konker, 1992 Group interviews with WPC's specialising in child protection	Konker, 1992 'When examined from an anthropological perspective, there are cultural differences in what is defined as appropriate adult sexual conduct, sexual maturity, and sexual pleasure. Further, what is considered "bad" sexual contact for children in one society may be regarded as "good" for proper child rearing and development in another' (p148) A WPC's specialising in the area of child protection: We had a case round here recently where a lot of men were 'deflowering' their girls...educating their children in to sex, they tried to say it were a cultural thing...but I know of no such thing happening in XXX [Northern Town]...they were all from here.
61	<i>To my mind, there is no link between exposure to pornography in childhood and a later tendency to become a child sexual abuser.</i>	Wyre, 1992	Wyre, 1992 'pornography does predispose some men to commit sexual abuse, and I have little doubt that the predisposition for some men can actually lie solely in the area of pornography - and nothing else - which creates the predisposition to commit sexual abuse'

			(p237-238)
63	<i>When a girl has been sexually abused, our first assumption should be that the abuse took place within the family.</i>	Bolton, Morris and MacEachron, 1989	Bolton, Morris and MacEachron, 1989 'It does appear that males may be more at risk outside the home than females...there is some suggestion that the incestuous pattern commonly found in female children may be less than norm [sic] in male children'
65	<i>Sadly, the normal affectionate touching between a parent and a child can occasionally slip into fondling that is sexually abusive.</i>	Anderson, 1979	Anderson, 1979 'Touch is an important part of life, at times, an essential part of life. Touching changes throughout life. Newborn babies, in most cultures, are closely and intimately touched by their mothers and fathers.' (p793)
67	<i>Sexual abuse by other children is one of the great-unrecognised child sexual abuse problems of our time.</i>	Oliver, Hall, Neuhaus, 1993 Hollows and Armstrong, 1991	Oliver, Hall, Neuhaus, 1993 'Although adolescent sexual aggression is a serious societal problem, the adolescent sex offender has been largely neglected in the psychological literature' (p359)
69	<i>The less fuss we make about an act of child sexual abuse, the better as far as the recovery of the child is concerned.</i>	Individual interview with social worker Storr, 1964	Individual interview with male social worker : 'I knew a family with two daughters who were sexually abused, by telling them it wasn't normal we were making it worse'

Appendix VII

Materials used in the Q Methodological Study

INSTRUCTIONS FOR COMPLETING THE Q SORT

Enclosed in this set of materials you will find three Q sorts that are based around different themes to do with child sexual abuse:

- (yellow booklet) Alternative debates and definitions
- (pink booklet) Social policy items
- (green booklet) Explanations for how and why esa happens and the processes that are involved.

Each Q-sort consists of several sheets of paper. On each there are numbered statements about child sexual abuse. The statements are things that people have said in interviews, at conferences and in conversations, and have been collected from books and magazines, television and radio. For each Q-sort there are sixty nine statements. Your task will be to sort each set of statements in a way that gives and impression of how you feel about them.

You will also find a 'markers' sheet, on which there are numbers from -5 through 0 to +5. To carry out the Q-sort you will need to cut the items from the Q pack and the 'marker numbers' sheet out, so that you have two piles of small bits of paper, one pile of sixty nine statements, and another pile of thirteen marker numbers. You will also need a large, clear table or desk - or the floor (as the process takes up a fair bit of space) and may look a bit like this:



Your task will be to sort the statements from your STRONGEST DISAGREEMENT (-5) to your STRONGEST AGREEMENT (+5). If you look at the response grid, you will see the format of choices. As you will see, at the extreme ends (-5 and +5) you will need to place just 3 statements - those with which you most disagree with at one end,

In this way you should be able to give rough accounts of your views about and understandings of child sexual abuse. I say 'rough accounts' because a technique like this can only go so far, and can not represent a lot of detail, nor take into account the "...yes, but..." feeling we all have about any issue or topic. However, it is not intended so much to give an accurate picture of just one person's views, it is used to look for patterns of ideas, examining the ways some people sort in similar ways and others very differently.

Open-ended 'free' response booklets are also included to give you the chance to get your own particular viewpoint across. You can use these to explain your reactions to the statements, why you have put particular statements in particular places, any problems with interpreting the statements, or whatever. Don't feel you have to comment about every statement (although I would welcome this if you have the time and the inclination as it will help me to understand your pattern of responses and therefore represent your viewpoint more accurately); simply use these as an opportunity to make your views clear.

Starting to sort

To begin each Q-sort, sort the numbered statements (which you cut up earlier) fairly roughly into three piles like this:

Pile A	Pile B	Pile C
agree	unsure	disagree
	no strong feeling	
	don't understand	

At this stage it is probably worth going through the piles a second time, to make sure that you are happy with where you have placed the statements. Include in pile A all those with which you disagree, even if only on 'balance' or mildly; and in pile C ensure that there are all the statements with which, on balance, you agree, even if your agreement is pretty small. You can go on changing statements from pile to pile as long as you want, right up to the end of the sort, but people usually find that sorting gets easier later on if they make sure they are fairly happy at this stage.

Doing the q-sort

When you are satisfied with your three piles, your need for a lot of space arises. Set out the marker numbers in a row in front of you like this, with plenty of space below;

-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
----	----	----	----	----	---	----	----	----	----	----

Your task from this point is to

subject to your beliefs and opinions – place those statements that are of more importance for you before those that are of less concern.

Now using the response grid on the back page, begin to sort your statements according to the specified pattern (that is three statements at –5, five at –4, six at –3 and so on). Most people start by selecting one pile, e.g. pile A, and choosing from it the three statements with which they feel the strongest disagreement, placing these under the –5 marker. The object from this point on is to gradually refine your strength of disagreement by next selecting five statements to go under –4, then six statement to go under –3 and so on, working from pile A until you have used them all up. Then you should move to pile C, and working in a similar way, you should first find your three statements of strongest agreement to put under the –5 marker and so on.

When you have used all your statements from piles A and C, go on to place pile B. Here you should aim, as far as possible, to work from disagreement to agreement. While for some people the 0 row will be sufficient for all of pile B, for others you may be using + or – columns. Some people even find that their ‘agrees’ spread over into the ‘disagree’ side or vice versa. If either of these happens to you, the mark the grid with lines, to show where your agreement ends and where your disagreement starts. But these statements in the middle of the grid don’t matter so much, and you don’t have to worry over them for too long. It is the statements at the end that are most important for comparing your sorting with those of other people.

At the end of your sorting, you should have something in front of you that looks like this:

-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
1	9	19	31	47	63	12	28	44	60	3
5	11	21	33	49	65	14	30	46	62	
7	13	23	35	51	67	16	32	48	64	
	15	25	37	53	69	18	34	50	66	
	17	27	39	55	2	20	36	52	68	
		29	41	57	4	22	38	54		
			43	59	6	24	40			
			45	61	8	26	42			
					10					

Even at this stage if you want (and have the time) you should feel free to move the statements around. When, however, you are reasonably happy with your choices, fill in the grid with the numbers of the statements. Please note, however, that for the purposes of the analysis I will carry out on the responses, it is absolutely crucial that

each column, you should not put, say, four statements under the –5 marker column, however much you may feel you would like to do so.

SO PLEASE DO STICK TO THE RIGHT NUMBER OF STATEMENTS IN EACH COLUMN – OTHERWISE THE COMPUTER WILL NOT ACCEPT THE DATA.

I would be grateful if you could return the response grids and any comments you have made about the Items to me within 2 weeks.

Thank you very much for helping us with our research, I appreciate the time and effort required, and your willingness to give your support.

Marcia Lorraine Worrell

THINGS TO REMEMBER WHEN DOING THE Q SORT

1. The Q-sort contains a number of statements which have been collected from a variety of sources and are intended to cover a wide range of opinions – because I have decided to include particular items, this does mean I necessarily support or would wish to challenge them.
2. I want to find out about those things which may influence ideas and opinions, so I would appreciate knowing something about your background. I also ask for this information (e.g. sex, age, occupation etc.) to ensure that I have covered as wide a range of viewpoints as is possible with a study of this kind. But you are free to respond anonymously if you prefer.
3. This is not a test and I am not trying to measure or diagnose anything. I am simply studying the different viewpoints and understandings of child sexual abuse that are around.
4. While I will interpret data by computer, no information linked to you as an individual will be kept in a data file. If I quote from what you say in a research report, this will be done anonymously.
5. Given the sensitive nature of this study, I would like to take this opportunity to assure you that the only people with access to your personal responses will be me and my PhD supervisor. Your response sheets will be kept safe, and will not be traceable to you by name.
6. I will be happy to send you a report of the research when it is finished, or include you in further studies if you indicate this on the response grid, or alternatively feel free to contact me direct.
7. I am happy to discuss any part of the research, or answer any questions. I can be contacted at:

Department of Health and Social Welfare,

MARKER CARDS

-5

+5

-4

+4

-3

+3

-2

+2

-1

+1

0

Items used in the Explanations for Child Sexual Abuse Q-Sort

- | | | | |
|----|---|-----|--|
| 1) | All other things being equal, the older the child the more we should accept the idea that they may have chosen to get involved in a relationship with an adult. | 10) | The motivations for the sexual abuse of children are very different from the reasons why people physically abuse or neglect them. |
| 2) | The woman who knows about and colludes with child sexual abuse often escapes the punishment that her partner is likely to suffer. | 11) | Sexually abusing children is a sign of a psychiatric illness requiring medical or psychological treatment. |
| 3) | Normal parents don't experience sexual feelings when caring intimately for their children. | 12) | Having access to pornographic magazines and videos makes people less likely to sexually abuse children. |
| 4) | Some people get hooked onto child sexual abuse in the same way that others get hooked onto drugs or gambling. | 13) | I suspect that the sexual abuse of animals and the sexual abuse of young children have very similar explanations. |
| 5) | The closer the emotional attachment a person has with a child, the easier it is for that person to become an abuser. | 14) | A society that encourages little girls to buy make-up, uses them to sell jeans, and offers them role models like 'Madonna' stimulates the sexual abuse of girls. |
| 6) | Single sex education can give individuals a taste for young people of the same sex. | 15) | Societies that live 'close to nature' may not enjoy some of the so-called benefits of modern civilization, but neither do they have the problem of child sexual abuse. |
| 7) | Generally, child sexual abuse is better understood as a 'spur of the moment' offence rather than as a premeditated one. | 16) | Women who do not report the sexual abuse of their children, are often so dependent on the man that they are prepared to pay any price to keep him from leaving. |
| 8) | The reasons why step-parents sexually abuse children are no different from the reasons why biological parents do so. | 17) | Fathers who have intimately cared for their children - bathed them, fed them and changed them - are less likely to sexually abuse than fathers who have had a more distant relationship. |
| 9) | The ways our schools have handled the sex education of the present generation of parents is a factor in the sexual abuse we see today. | 18) | With child sexual abuse, as for so many other social problems, alcohol abuse has a lot to answer for. |
| | | 19) | Few adults, isolated on a desert island with a child, would be able to resist, for long, the temptation to try for a sexual relationship. |

Items used in the Explanations for Child Sexual Abuse Q-Sort

- | | |
|---|---|
| 20) Some father-daughter incest arises because they fall in love. | 31) We need to recognise that the forces of evil may lie behind some of the more perverted forms of child sexual abuse. |
| 21) Incest can occur even in really well adjusted families. | 32) The reasons for sex between an adult and an adolescent are very different from the reasons for sex between an adult and a small child. |
| 22) Sexual abuse is a way of life in some families. | 33) For some people, children are sexually alluring because they are 'forbidden fruit'. |
| 23) Parent-child incest most often involves an on-going sexual relationship. | 34) To be able to make sense of an incident of child sexual abuse we first need to know the gender of the victim and of the abuser. |
| 24) Society's denial of sexuality to older people, drives some senior citizens to child sexual abuse. | 35) Sexual abuse seldom happens in families without the collusion of other family members. |
| 25) The more we bring up children to please adults, the more we make them vulnerable to adult demands for sex. | 36) Immature animals are frequently used sexually by older, more experienced animals, we should not be surprised to find the same going on with human animals. |
| 26) I accept the notion that child sexual abuse can be an unconscious expression of anger. | 37) Child sexual abuse is less common in societies that are open about sex. |
| 27) Working mothers, by their absence, create the opportunity for child sexual abuse. | 38) It is helpful to look at child sexual abuse as a symptom of an underlying personal problem or crisis in the abuser. |
| 28) Child sexual abuse is a habit that Britons have caught from contact with the practices of other culture and societies. | 39) If only we could rap the potential child sexual abuser across the knuckles the moment their hands start wandering, we would have a lot less sexual abuse. |
| 29) Some people are 'turned on' by rubberwear, some by silk lingerie and some by children. The reasons for all three are much the same. | 40) Adults have the need to express themselves in sexual relationships; sexual abuse may occur if an individual is unable to meet such needs in more conventional ways. |
| 30) There is no reason why a child victim of sexual abuse should go on to become a child sexual abuser themselves. | 41) Much the same explanations hold true for paedophilia in women as for |

Items used in the Explanations for Child Sexual Abuse Q-Sort

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| | paedophilia in men. | | where grandparents, aunts etc. are very much part of the family, provide a high level of protection for children from sexual abuse. |
| 42) | We will never fully understand why a man is sexually abusing a child in the family, unless we look to the behaviour of the woman. | 52) | Child sexual abuse and 'wife beating' have similar explanations. |
| 43) | The reasons why men sexually abuse children and why women do so are fundamentally the same. | 52) | Modern family life exposes men to temptations to sexually abuse which their fathers and grandfathers never faced. |
| 44) | An interest in sex with children is like a disease, it is very easy to catch from close contact with an abuser. | 53) | Our modern polluted environment, full of chemicals which may damage nervous systems and affect behaviour, has a lot to answer for in terms of the current epidemic of child sexual abuse. |
| 45) | Paedophilia in women is one of the great unrecognised child abuse problems of our time. | 54) | I expect the modern tendency to dress boys and girls more alike will reduce the incidence of child sexual abuse. |
| 46) | Sex with a child often has no more complicated an explanation than it was the most convenient way for somebody to fulfil sexual needs. | 55) | The very position of trust that women have traditionally held over the care of children has also allowed them to sexually abuse unrecognised. |
| 47) | It is naive to regard child sexual abuse as a symptom of a sexually sick society. | 56) | The more we have a society based around couples doing things together, the more likely it is that one of those things will be the sexual abuse of children. |
| 48) | There is something about the stepfathering role which seems to release sexually abusive tendencies. | 57) | As women progressively take over traditionally male roles and activities, they are also more likely to take over male vices like child sexual abuse. |
| 49) | It is helpful to see child sexual abuse as resulting from distorted thinking/living in a world of 'unreality'. | 58) | To my mind, sexual abuse has the habit of running in families. |
| 50) | If 'caring' turns to 'lusting' we have child sexual abuse. | 59) | The explanations for child sexual abuse in one culture will not necessarily work in another culture. |
| 51) | Those cultures which have extended families e.g. | 60) | To my mind, there is no link between exposure to pornography in childhood and a later tendency to become a child sexual abuser. |

Items used in the Explanations for Child Sexual Abuse Q-Sort

- 61) When a boy has been sexually abused, our first assumption should be that the abuse took place outside of the family.
- 62) When a girl has been sexually abused, our first assumption should be that the abuse took place within the family.
- 63) To fully understand cases of child sexual abuse, we need to know about the cultural\ethnic background of the abuser and of the child.
- 65) Sadly, the normal affectionate touching between a parent and a child can occasionally slip into fondling that is sexually abusive.
- 66) All children's play can get out of hand, sex play is no different.
- 67) Sexual abuse by other children is one of the great unrecognised child sexual abuse problems of our time.
- 68) In terms of child sexual abuse, it is naive to automatically assume that women are safe with children.
- 69) The less fuss we make about an act of child sexual abuse, the better as far as the recovery of the child is concerned.

Items used in the Standpoint and Definitions Q-Sort

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| 1) There are some acts towards children that are sexually abusive no matter what the context or the motivation. | 11) The moral panic about child sexual abuse runs the risk of making us shift our attention from the damage done by violence and neglect towards children. |
| 2) What passes for ordinary family life in our society is in itself a sexually abusive experience. | 12) Current practice over child sexual abuse reflects the concerns of social workers and other professionals to do what is best for children. |
| 3) Paedophilia is a moral disorder rather than a disease. | 13) For all our current concern about child sexual abuse, there has never been a better time than the present to be a child. |
| 4) Practices like circumcision (male and female) should be defined as forms of ritualistic abuse. | 14) Learning at the age of fourteen that your parents have arranged a marriage for you is sexually abusive. |
| 5) Child sexual abusers have an illness that requires medical management. | 15) There is world of difference between adult-child and adult-adult sex. |
| 6) Child sexual abuse would not thrive in a society that saw children as people with needs and wishes of their own . | 16) The way adults treat children as if they were possessions, contributes to the problem of child sexual abuse. |
| 7) As a society, we tend to turn our backs on and deny those facts about child sexual abuse we cannot bring ourselves to face. | 17) Child sexual abuse is a political concept, the meaning of which alters according to how the rights and needs of children are defined. |
| 8) Non-contact offences like 'flashing' at a youngster are not themselves forms of child sexual abuse. | 18) What is, and what is not, child sexual abuse can only be defined in terms of the effect upon the child. |
| 9) Sexual abuse is often children's first experience of male power, but it is seldom their last. | 19) Some instances of child sexual abuse are best made sense of as being symbolic, e.g. forms of religious ritual or political protest. |
| 10) The present social climate over child sexual abuse is similar to a witch-hunt in which large numbers of innocent people are bound to be wrongly accused, persecuted and punished. | 20) Those who most desire to punish child sexual abusers are those who most fear such tendencies in themselves. |
| | 21) For the poor and neglected children of the world, a sexual relationship with an adult is a small price to pay for being looked after. |
| | 22) Many of those we call 'child sexual abusers' are doing little more than |

Items used in the Standpoint and Definitions Q-sort

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| | adding the practical side to sex education. | | than forming a sexual relationship with an adult. |
| 23) | Child sexual abusers have a sickness of the soul, which needs spiritual help. | 33) | I worry about the motives of those who write about and research into child sexual abuse. |
| 24) | Child sexual abusers are created by the social circumstances in which they have lived. | 34) | Many so-called 'experts' in this area are turning children's suffering into ideological ammunition. |
| 25) | As with any fashion in medicine, child sexual abuse attracts the 'cranks', the 'quacks' and the merely 'incompetent'. | 35) | Whatever name we may call the adult client of a child prostitute, 'child abuser' is not the right one. |
| 26) | Child sexual abuse is just one of many unpleasant demonstrations of the power that adults have over children. | 36) | By the year 2000, I expect a new social problem will have replaced child sexual abuse as a focus of public concern. |
| 27) | We should not allow crimes like rape and buggery to get hidden under the label of child sexual abuse. | 37) | An effective definition of child sexual abuse must draw upon notions of the child's basic human rights. |
| 28) | The borderline between giving a child physical pleasure through body contact and sexual pleasure through body contact, is a difficult one to draw. | 38) | It is perfectly possible to develop a definition of child sexual abuse, with which everyone could agree. |
| 29) | One of the great benefits of the term child sexual abuse, is that it is simple enough for a child to understand and use. | 39) | Making parents frightened of being physically close to their children is not a way of reducing the risk of child sexual abuse, it is a form of abuse. |
| 30) | Child sexual abuse would have a very different meaning in a society where it was considered natural and normal for adults and children to share sexual enjoyment. | 40) | Governments find it more convenient to 'blame the individual' for child sexual abuse than to find the resources to tackle the heart of the problem. |
| 31) | The tradition of family secrecy should not be blamed when child sexual abuse escapes detection. | 41) | All children suffer from sexual abuse in the sense that the threat of it is always there. |
| 32) | There are many worse things that can happen to children | 42) | There is a lot of 'clap-trap' spoken about child sexual abuse. |
| | | 43) | A truly moral definition of child sexual abuse looks to the treatment and conditions of all the World's children. |
| | | 44) | The rich and influential child sexual abuser has much the same chance |

Items used in the Standpoint and Definitions Q-Sort

- of being successfully prosecuted as an abuser from the working classes.
- 45) All oppressed groups are at risk of being treated as sexual objects by those in power children are no exception to this.
- 46) Children can be much more damaged by our over reactions and anger to their being sexually abused, than by the abuse itself.
- 47) Adult-child sexual activity has happened throughout history. All that differs is the extent to which, at any point in time, it is seen as 'desirable', 'sinful', 'normal', 'wrong' or just in 'bad taste'.
- 48) A lot of the shock and horror expressed towards child sexual abuse is because people find the idea of childhood sexuality itself difficult to take.
- 49) Fundamentally all forms of child sexual abuse boil down to misuse of power.
- 50) The development of the term child sexual abuse to bring together many forms of suffering has done a great deal to help children in our society.
- 51) The price of living in a free society should not be paid for in the currency of child sexual abuse.
- 52) The term sexual abuse should be restricted to indecent acts upon children.
- 53) Ultimately, the recognition of child sexual abuse is a task for medical diagnosis.
- 54) Child sexual abuse is a symptom of a decline in moral values.
- 55) The kind of education programmes designed to alert children to the risk of sexual abuse, instead of protecting them may simply destroy their childhood innocence.
- 56) It is perfectly possible to have a society in which children are never sexually abused.
- 57) Sex with children is an offence against nature.
- 58) Where men monopolise the power in a household, there is no hope of reducing the incidence of sexual abuse in the family.
- 59) The ordinary sex play that goes on between children should not be mistaken for sexual abuse.
- 60) Before opting for therapy of the sexually abused child we need to remind ourselves that often, in medicine, the treatment proves more harmful than the disease.
- 61) Child sexual abuse is in the 'eye of the beholder'.
- 62) For all the honeyed words of the paedophile lobby a child sexual abuser remains a pervert in my book.
- 63) Every adult bears a responsibility when a child in their community has been sexually abused.
- 64) Child sexual abuse is not a 'thing' that happens to children, but a category society has created.
- 65) Child sexual abusers have a psychological disorder requiring therapy.
- 66) Adults who have sex with children are best understood as simply perverted.

Items used in the Standpoint and Definitions Q-sort

- 67) I have a sneaking sympathy with those prisoners who 'take the law into their own hands' with convicted child sexual abusers.
- 68) We should keep politics out of the battle against child sexual abuse.
- 69) There are many more pressing problems facing Britain today than that of child sexual abuse.

Items used in the Social Policy Q-Sort

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| 1) | We need the firm leadership that good example provides if we are to overcome the current surge of child sexual abuse. | 11) | To tackle the problem of child sexual abuse we need less talk and more action. |
| 2) | We should allow young people to consent to sex once they understand all that is involved. | 12) | To reduce child sexual abuse, social and child care workers need more powers not fewer. |
| 3) | A major key to improving the way we tackle child sexual abuse is to ensure that everybody who works in this area is properly trained. | 13) | Convicted child sexual abusers should be shut away from the community for the rest of their natural lives. |
| 4) | All children should receive a compulsory school medical examination each year that is sufficiently thorough to detect sexual abuse. | 14) | Surgery offers the best and most permanent solution to the problem of child sexual abuse. |
| 5) | Policy over child sexual abuse needs to accept that psychologically children are far tougher and more resilient than is generally recognised. | 15) | Protecting children from sexual abuse would be better managed if we had a single agency in charge, rather than expecting professionals from different agencies (like police, health visitors and social workers) to work together. |
| 6) | We need to put more resources into the treatment and counselling of child sexual abusers. | 16) | We need to be very careful to ensure that professional material about child sexual abuse does not fall into the wrong hands. |
| 7) | We need to approach the problem of child sexual abuse in as rational and scientific a way as possible. | 17) | Reasserting the so-called virtues of traditional family life, will do nothing to reduce the incidence of child sexual abuse. |
| 8) | More than anything, to reduce child sexual abuse we need a fundamental change in social attitudes. | 18) | The BBC and IBA should use every opportunity to achieve a massive public campaign of education about child sexual abuse. |
| 9) | Increasing the likelihood of detection and giving the severest of punishments on conviction are the surest means to stamp out child sexual abuse. | 19) | The best way to reduce child sexual abuse is to increase children's powers over their own lives. |
| 10) | To tackle child sexual abuse we should give every child, as | 20) | We need to put more resources into the treatment and counselling of sexually abused children. |

Items used in the Social Policy Q-Sort

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| 21) | Sexually abused children who wish to stay with their families should not be forced to be separated from them. | | resources to meet the expectations they raise. |
| 22) | The courts are the right place to decide on issues to do with the future of sexually abused children. | 31) | We should be prepared to censor out from books, films, newspapers, radio and television any material which might stimulate potential child sexual abusers. |
| 23) | To reduce child sexual abuse we need to define and establish, in law, a charter of children's rights. | 32) | The identification of child sexual abuse should never be based on medical diagnosis alone. |
| 24) | Everybody should be obliged, by law, to report child sexual abuse if they suspect it. | 33) | Trying to understand why sexual abusers offend is more likely to help us reduce child sexual abuse than is punishing them. |
| 25) | We should abolish some categories of 'child sexual abuse' by modifying certain of our laws, e.g. the 'age of consent'. | 34) | Our present policies over child sexual abuse have the effect of punishing the young for the failings of their families and of society in general. |
| 26) | Resources should be allocated to make psychological counselling and therapy freely available on the NHS to help those adults who were sexually abused as children. | 35) | Whenever a parent passes the intimate care of their child on to someone else, they should keep in mind the risk of sexual abuse. |
| 27) | Current social policy over child sexual abuse has neither a good theory, nor a body of good evidence to guide it. | 36) | Those parents wrongly accused of child sexual abuse should be entitled to adequate compensation to enable them to rebuild their families and their lives. |
| 28) | To hope that a single policy can reduce child sexual abuse is as pointless as expecting a single treatment to cure a boil, a broken leg and a 'breakdown'. | 37) | Adequate, appropriate sex education is an important contribution in the fight against child sexual abuse. |
| 29) | We need to put more resources into research on the causes of child sexual abuse. | 38) | People like doctors, priests and lawyers must be prepared to share information about child sexual abuse with other professionals, even if this means breaking rules about confidentiality. |
| 30) | Initiatives like 'Childline' can only help the sexually abused child if there are sufficient | 39) | We need to put more resources into research on the prevention of child sexual abuse. |
| | | 40) | We should strive to re-educate parents from immigrant cultures that |

Items used in the Social Policy Q-Sort

	continue with practices like female genital mutilation (female circumcision).		of different generations is wrong.
41)	Our social policy needs to define child sexual abuse in terms of infringements of children's human rights.	51)	There is no merit to the idea of keeping a register of potential child sexual abusers.
42)	Our policies about child sexual abuse need to strike the right balance between protecting children and preserving family privacy.	52)	Help should be given to families where sexual abuse has taken place to restore healthy functioning.
43)	It will never be possible to identify 'high risk families' effectively enough to make much of a dent in the child sexual abuse statistics.	53)	If we do not treat child sexual abusers as human they will act as less than humans and continue to abuse.
44)	Any changes we make in child sexual abuse policy must build in proper safety nets to guard against wrongful and even malicious accusations.	54)	People who have sexually abused should be given every chance to sort themselves out and wipe the slate clean.
45)	Public health campaigns (e.g. against smoking and drunken driving) show us the ways to reduce child sexual abuse and to make it even more socially unacceptable.	55)	In a free society, even the worst kind of child sexual abuser has the right to become a parent.
46)	Once children can look after their own intimate care (washing themselves, going to the toilet etc.) they should be left to do it for themselves.	56)	We should encourage all children to trust their instincts as to whether an adult is 'safe' or not.
47)	When adults and children fall in love, it is what they don't do and do that counts.	57)	We should empower children, as soon as they are able, to be watch-dogs over their families to minimise the risk of sexual abuse taking place.
48)	Children must be taught that 'no adult is safe'.	58)	Convicted child sexual abusers should be forced to wear some visible form of identification.
49)	In a free society even publications promoting paedophile ideas must be permitted.	59)	Mothers need to be constantly on their guard against encouraging their daughters into ways of behaving that may be misunderstood by men.
50)	We need to get away from the idea that sex between people	60)	In the child sexual abuse debate we need to separate the sin from the sinner.
		61)	In expecting people to provide therapeutic help to child sexual abusers we need to be aware that few can withstand such contact, without their own sexuality being affected.

Items used in the Social Policy Q-Sort

- 62) It is never too early to begin to teach our children to detect and protect themselves from potentially dangerous adults.
- 63) To reduce child sexual abuse *in the family children must be taught that there is nothing wrong with 'telling on their parents'.*
- 64) Child sexual abusers who infect their victims with the HIV virus should expect to find themselves on trial for their lives.
- 65) Giving a boy a non-sexist upbringing is the best way a parent can protect the little girls of tomorrow.
- 66) Girls should be taught to value their virginity, that way they will fight harder to keep it.
- 67) Those whose work brings them into contact with children should be 'positively vetted', to be sure that nobody with a 'skeleton in the cupboard' is given the chance to sexually abuse our children.
- 68) We need to promote a policy where children are given the opportunity to learn that their bodies are their property, and that nobody has the right to touch them in ways they do not like.
- 69) Fears about horrific possibilities like 'snuff movies' and satanic abuse must not be allowed to influence our approach to child sexual abuse as a whole.

Appendix VIII

Details of participants who took part in the Q Methodological Study

List of Participants who took part in the Q Methodological Study

Part.Number	Information provided on response grid
01.	F; British-Jewish; 41yrs; Training development adviser; Social worker trained, BSc sociology, feminist
02.	M; Guyanese; 23yrs; student
03.	British; 25yrs; Trainee clinical psychologist
04.	M; British; 24yrs; student; social constructionist
05.	F; British; 26yrs; Clinical psychologist trainee
06.	No information supplied
07.	F; British; 40yrs; secretary and student; mother of 2
08.	F; British; 27yrs; youth community worker; white, no direct experience of working with CSA
09.	British; 21yrs; Psychology student; gay
10.	F; British-French; 42yrs; OU course manager
11.	F; British; 33yrs; PT lecturer and student; social constructionist
12.	F; British; 39yrs; survivor;
13.	F; White British; 32yrs; Lecturer in social work; mother, feminist, working with CSA since 1985
14.	F; British; 56yrs; Writer/housewife; brought up in Kenya, lived abroad for 46yrs
15.	M; British; 20yrs; student;
16.	F; British; 25yrs; Research Assistant; 'tired'
17.	M; British; 25yrs; Research Student
18.	F; British; 40yrs; OU course manager
19.	F; British; 35yrs; Educational Welfare Officer; one parent family
20.	Collectively completed by 4 students – no other information supplied
21.	F; British; 40yrs; Educational Welfare Officer
22.	F; British; 27yrs; researcher; lesbian feminist
23.	M; British; 41yrs; Child care advisor; social services worker for 13yrs

24. F; British; 57yrs; Trainer
25. F; British; 36yrs; Child protection co-ordinator (health)
26. M; British; 48yrs; PT probation officer
27. F; British; 35yrs; Social work manager; child care specialist
28. F; British; 38yrs; Solicitor; member of the child care panel
29. F; British; 54yrs; Nurse/civil servant
30. F; White British; 39yrs; researcher; lesbian feminist)
31. F; White British; 38yrs; Training officer, social worker; married
32. F; British; Lecturer
33. M; British; Fine Art Student
34. M; British; Lecturer
35. F; British; 42yrs; social worker
36. F; Black-British; 19yrs; student
37. F; British; 19yrs; Fine Art Student
38. F; British; 24yrs; PhD student
39. F; British; 29yrs; student; former factory worker
40. F; British; 23yrs; Staff Nurse; lesbian
41. M; British; 40yrs; Solicitor in local government
42. F; British; 50yrs; nurse
43. F; Black-British 25yrs;
44. M; West-Indian (British); 55yrs; maintenance/fitter
45. M; African-Caribbean 22yrs; service engineer
46. M; White British; 36yrs; Training and development social services; social services and teaching background
47. F; British; Admin. Officer
48. F; British; 50-60 age grp.; teacher; Born in India, married to an Englishman
49. M; British; 51yrs; University Lecturer
50. F; White British; 39yrs; researcher; radical feminist
51. M; British; 66yrs; author; boy-love

52. F; British; >50yrs; medical practitioner; working in child protection for 15yrs
53. F; British; 25yrs; student/researcher
54. M; White Scot-British; 46yrs; social worker
55. F; British; 23yrs; social worker; qualified since 1990
56. M; British; 23yrs; Assistant Manager
57. F; British; 27yrs; secretary
58. F; District Nurse
59. F; British; 67yrs; Housewife, director of family firm
60. M; 19yrs; Black-British student
61. M; British; 17yrs; college student, sociology
62. F; British; 41yrs; full-time student
63. F; Black qualified social worker, 28yrs
64. M; British; 27yrs; Child protection social worker
65. M; British; 44yrs; Local Authority Social Services Dept., chair of child protection case conferences
66. F; British; 25yrs; PhD student, PT lecturer
67. F; British; 52yrs; nursing development Dept of Health, RHV - worked in child protection field.
68. M; British; over 50yrs; retired; (boy-love)
69. M; Welsh-British; over 18; Banker (boy-love)
70. M; British; 49yrs; lecturer; (boy-love)
71. F; British; 19yrs; student
72. F; British; 20 yrs; communications/social studies student
73. F; British; 20yrs; student

Appendix IX: Factor Loadings

Factor Loadings for the Explanations Q-sort

Part	Factor/Loadings															
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	
1	0.383	-0.078	0.392	-0.009	0.067	0.077	-0.096	0.081	0.168	-0.104	0.616	-0.007	-0.150	0.131	0.012	0.790
2	0.063	-0.050	0.206	-0.027	0.066	-0.328	0.608	-0.019	0.325	0.012	-0.152	0.097	-0.008	0.257	0.077	0.743
3	0.514	0.047	-0.118	0.088	0.231	-0.067	-0.009	0.044	0.094	0.066	0.317	0.401	0.072	-0.012	0.276	0.705
4	0.103	0.078	0.021	0.112	-0.019	0.160	-0.148	-0.122	0.422	0.036	0.419	-0.156	0.465	0.128	-0.134	0.722
5	0.260	0.033	-0.008	0.298	0.186	0.199	0.032	0.004	0.096	-0.216	0.618	0.114	0.026	0.185	-0.059	0.722
6	0.169	-0.088	0.009	0.736	0.051	0.160	0.111	0.093	0.047	-0.023	-0.015	0.114	-0.197	0.007	-0.211	0.726
7	0.428	-0.008	0.186	0.312	-0.013	0.052	0.048	-0.004	-0.268	0.199	0.280	0.004	0.355	-0.192	0.344	0.791
8	0.151	-0.003	0.100	0.493	0.073	0.025	0.183	0.246	0.276	-0.011	0.105	0.182	-0.048	0.227	0.018	0.560
9	0.287	0.262	0.007	0.540	-0.073	-0.145	-0.114	-0.020	0.175	0.027	0.104	-0.169	0.247	-0.131	-0.219	0.679
10	0.111	0.306	0.238	0.442	0.194	-0.073	0.093	0.208	0.224	0.303	0.038	-0.198	0.299	0.127	0.199	0.781
11	0.132	0.243	-0.123	0.428	0.048	-0.098	-0.100	0.102	0.322	-0.083	0.311	-0.051	0.260	0.412	0.028	0.756
12	0.445	-0.038	0.345	0.318	-0.116	-0.087	-0.094	-0.186	0.096	0.026	0.132	-0.097	0.365	0.129	0.158	0.695
13	0.430	0.026	0.307	0.226	0.185	0.044	-0.219	0.176	-0.018	-0.060	0.403	-0.064	0.046	0.171	0.238	0.705
14	0.205	-0.064	0.446	0.177	0.218	0.317	0.107	-0.145	0.204	0.150	0.062	0.245	0.092	0.039	0.016	0.595
15	0.071	-0.093	0.712	-0.008	0.173	0.113	-0.140	0.042	-0.059	0.004	-0.070	0.060	-0.183	0.002	0.285	0.712
16	0.186	-0.078	0.039	0.633	0.013	0.013	-0.080	-0.095	0.087	0.129	0.336	-0.001	0.320	0.311	-0.035	0.796
17	-0.150	0.309	-0.333	0.130	-0.119	0.039	0.180	0.181	0.158	0.050	0.296	0.114	0.564	0.024	-0.105	0.784
18	0.539	-0.109	0.184	-0.037	0.191	-0.085	-0.300	-0.209	0.140	0.017	0.373	-0.060	0.146	0.126	0.149	0.738
19	0.261	0.201	-0.055	0.454	0.275	0.087	-0.045	-0.371	0.245	0.008	0.201	0.060	0.155	0.187	0.060	0.707
20	0.446	0.234	0.001	0.236	0.058	-0.255	0.318	0.070	0.332	0.024	0.239	0.226	0.269	0.081	0.063	0.786
21	0.215	0.002	0.110	0.212	0.204	0.115	0.167	0.071	0.167	0.254	-0.013	0.120	0.633	0.144	-0.139	0.738
22	0.156	-0.039	0.128	0.056	0.063	-0.066	0.058	-0.235	-0.105	0.097	0.783	0.116	0.106	-0.049	0.077	0.779
23	0.338	0.067	0.006	0.115	-0.067	0.040	-0.014	0.119	0.397	0.020	0.303	0.018	0.356	0.336	-0.225	0.692
24	0.275	-0.153	0.107	0.414	0.215	-0.115	-0.196	0.104	0.021	-0.338	0.058	0.174	0.401	0.067	-0.207	0.748
25	0.132	0.217	0.150	0.618	0.165	-0.277	0.068	0.374	0.015	0.108	0.240	0.011	0.133	-0.002	-0.004	0.805
26	0.321	0.048	0.008	0.156	0.119	-0.030	-0.185	0.088	-0.049	0.070	0.085	0.043	0.176	0.641	-0.172	0.675
27	0.520	0.142	-0.033	0.523	0.223	-0.040	-0.127	0.042	0.055	-0.069	0.070	0.117	0.235	0.138	0.094	0.745
28	0.387	0.132	0.016	-0.028	0.036	0.132	-0.147	0.334	0.230	0.039	0.119	-0.141	0.329	0.229	-0.185	0.604
29	0.267	0.157	0.172	0.051	0.213	-0.059	-0.107	-0.050	0.092	0.063	0.086	-0.029	0.687	0.095	0.064	0.696
30	0.141	0.108	-0.123	0.222	0.100	-0.071	-0.149	0.086	0.060	-0.044	0.721	0.258	0.101	0.019	0.006	0.734
31	0.309	0.023	-0.060	0.711	0.302	0.048	-0.034	-0.086	0.036	-0.001	0.189	-0.011	0.044	-0.194	0.146	0.805
32	0.020	0.137	0.020	0.199	-0.056	0.116	-0.201	0.019	0.217	0.144	0.695	-0.210	0.092	0.127	-0.126	0.751
33	0.394	0.083	-0.042	0.125	0.298	0.228	-0.116	0.147	0.156	0.354	0.057	-0.359	0.259	0.070	0.066	0.714
34	-0.100	0.269	-0.083	0.264	-0.048	0.148	0.033	-0.093	0.104	0.339	0.338	-0.252	-0.107	0.514	-0.241	0.830
35	0.640	-0.047	0.170	0.367	-0.028	0.166	0.018	-0.002	-0.089	-0.031	0.369	0.005	0.188	0.156	0.104	0.819

36	-0.010	-0.032	0.108	0.146	0.837	-0.062	-0.027	0.075	0.141	-0.032	0.128	0.036	0.058	0.013	-0.114	0.800
37	0.022	0.112	0.010	0.592	0.121	0.142	-0.055	0.069	0.528	0.025	0.347	-0.255	0.117	-0.018	-0.019	0.885
38	0.122	-0.130	0.074	0.208	-0.040	0.438	0.170	0.013	0.011	-0.213	0.401	-0.176	-0.063	0.231	0.087	0.647
39	0.054	0.209	-0.054	0.580	0.102	0.037	0.083	-0.203	-0.005	-0.111	0.132	-0.087	0.208	0.194	0.033	0.565
40	0.439	-0.149	0.248	0.474	0.056	0.188	0.012	-0.235	0.067	0.172	0.277	0.218	0.169	-0.050	0.125	0.800
41	0.188	0.311	-0.050	0.043	0.293	0.177	0.087	0.446	0.262	-0.034	0.344	0.002	0.212	0.168	-0.091	0.729
42	0.001	0.110	0.556	0.007	0.128	0.079	0.329	-0.106	0.008	-0.172	0.080	0.175	0.158	0.128	-0.034	0.573
43	-0.049	0.337	-0.304	0.205	-0.023	0.016	0.107	-0.025	0.204	0.253	0.457	-0.094	0.133	0.200	-0.371	0.782
44	0.023	0.025	0.660	0.227	0.103	-0.142	0.099	0.201	0.030	-0.102	0.057	-0.051	0.268	-0.241	-0.092	0.726
45	0.017	0.071	0.202	0.763	0.313	-0.027	-0.113	-0.042	-0.147	0.076	0.091	0.017	-0.038	0.163	0.004	0.806
46	0.768	0.065	-0.052	0.056	-0.073	0.281	-0.102	-0.013	0.028	0.017	0.193	0.066	0.158	0.052	-0.007	0.766
47	0.106	-0.091	0.048	0.020	-0.027	0.113	-0.719	-0.038	0.128	0.082	0.083	0.097	0.014	0.141	0.072	0.618
48	0.376	0.207	-0.126	0.229	-0.031	0.046	0.160	-0.120	0.198	0.071	-0.006	-0.046	0.149	0.518	-0.034	0.634
49	0.509	0.101	0.162	0.306	0.180	0.078	0.061	0.093	0.276	-0.146	0.115	-0.183	0.152	0.186	-0.054	0.645
50	0.224	0.054	-0.085	0.191	0.037	0.017	0.030	0.293	0.016	-0.087	0.749	0.123	0.086	-0.126	0.094	0.802
51	-0.181	0.619	-0.021	0.043	-0.115	-0.221	0.049	-0.187	0.059	-0.086	0.077	0.130	0.062	0.271	-0.380	0.773
52	0.223	0.118	0.089	0.193	0.651	0.137	0.104	-0.147	0.150	0.052	-0.033	-0.078	0.107	-0.079	-0.099	0.644
53	-0.045	0.114	0.202	0.481	-0.005	-0.003	-0.262	0.176	0.244	-0.131	0.122	0.335	-0.003	0.176	0.278	0.698
54	0.667	-0.130	-0.037	0.315	-0.127	0.026	-0.082	0.150	0.062	-0.145	0.236	0.117	0.148	0.039	0.050	0.728
55	-0.072	0.093	0.091	0.029	0.057	0.033	0.089	0.008	0.045	-0.789	0.050	-0.088	-0.136	-0.074	0.076	0.699
56	0.084	0.371	0.101	0.075	0.103	0.701	-0.019	0.055	0.034	0.068	0.046	0.145	0.044	-0.037	0.186	0.733
57	-0.077	-0.041	0.399	0.056	0.258	-0.240	-0.085	-0.065	0.431	0.251	-0.182	0.169	0.114	0.075	-0.071	0.640
58	-0.075	0.263	-0.098	-0.018	-0.021	-0.073	-0.105	0.018	0.044	0.013	0.023	-0.056	0.069	0.078	-0.003	0.916
59	0.147	0.010	0.418	0.338	-0.056	-0.022	-0.213	-0.083	0.294	-0.078	0.004	0.023	0.157	-0.201	0.344	0.644
60	0.004	0.023	0.174	0.128	0.860	0.013	0.035	0.080	-0.057	-0.081	0.124	0.075	0.040	0.109	0.041	0.840
61	0.320	0.016	-0.008	0.171	0.159	-0.043	0.065	0.071	0.674	-0.058	0.212	0.126	0.142	0.049	0.050	0.712
62	0.161	-0.131	0.265	0.153	-0.001	0.102	-0.062	0.002	-0.022	0.118	0.199	0.737	0.020	-0.094	0.162	0.784
63	-0.049	0.255	-0.038	-0.013	-0.039	-0.072	-0.038	0.037	-0.019	0.064	0.018	-0.083	0.031	0.040	-0.081	0.869
64	0.616	0.189	-0.038	0.610	-0.207	0.114	0.008	0.000	0.111	-0.020	0.158	0.243	0.037	0.063	0.108	0.626
65	0.014	-0.333	-0.003	0.264	0.126	0.018	0.076	-0.096	0.106	0.136	-0.026	0.048	-0.116	0.128	-0.042	0.655
66	0.165	0.048	-0.109	0.097	0.248	0.016	0.019	-0.035	0.217	-0.076	0.450	0.387	0.028	0.197	-0.212	0.605
67	0.588	0.153	0.195	0.052	0.127	-0.355	0.126	0.110	0.062	0.139	0.044	0.071	-0.151	-0.049	-0.033	0.636
68	-0.181	0.749	0.053	0.274	0.165	0.134	0.092	-0.055	-0.124	0.041	0.104	-0.080	-0.021	-0.047	-0.098	0.775
69	0.022	0.819	-0.104	0.108	-0.118	0.011	-0.083	0.082	0.082	-0.009	0.043	0.020	0.057	0.000	-0.258	0.800
70	0.185	0.782	0.036	-0.021	0.183	0.157	0.096	0.094	0.098	-0.086	-0.041	-0.130	0.134	0.117	-0.134	0.810
71	0.081	0.144	0.173	0.557	0.171	0.260	-0.100	-0.004	0.517	-0.051	0.080	-0.073	0.228	0.025	-0.090	0.817
72	0.070	-0.146	0.190	0.459	0.193	0.052	0.098	0.316	0.167	-0.027	0.113	0.057	0.263	0.433	0.061	0.727
73	0.484	-0.119	0.157	0.465	0.099	-0.108	0.132	-0.029	0.159	0.110	0.116	0.326	0.049	0.120	0.125	0.718

Factor Loadings for the Standpoint and Definitions Q-sort

Part. No.	Factor/Loadings															
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	
1	0.706	-0.097	0.006	0.071	0.131	0.154	-0.038	0.184	-0.090	0.197	0.075	0.168	-0.039	-0.024	0.328	0.794
2	0.038	0.008	0.304	0.036	0.173	0.126	0.803	-0.097	0.012	-0.012	0.059	0.008	0.010	-0.041	-0.044	0.802
3	0.836	0.266	0.120	-0.056	-0.089	0.105	0.080	0.009	0.056	-0.076	0.017	0.130	0.095	-0.030	-0.106	0.860
4	0.324	0.669	0.137	0.037	0.165	-0.013	-0.059	-0.134	-0.150	0.290	0.000	0.148	0.000	0.336	0.066	0.827
5	0.798	0.349	0.027	0.009	-0.012	0.073	-0.028	0.031	0.054	0.169	0.068	0.060	0.031	0.048	-0.035	0.810
6	0.115	-0.185	0.247	0.180	0.053	0.062	-0.207	0.747	0.106	0.050	-0.158	0.045	-0.013	0.103	0.045	0.802
7	0.456	-0.222	0.194	0.194	-0.063	0.119	0.007	0.123	-0.032	0.037	-0.030	0.119	0.149	0.410	0.348	0.694
8	0.346	0.063	0.063	-0.037	-0.085	0.203	0.075	-0.029	0.075	0.149	0.066	0.061	0.036	0.139	0.734	0.779
9	0.551	0.413	0.195	0.081	-0.085	0.096	-0.155	0.019	0.108	-0.056	0.097	0.300	0.134	-0.205	0.281	0.812
10	0.239	0.083	-0.025	0.043	0.066	0.701	0.134	0.092	-0.097	-0.018	0.009	-0.109	0.175	-0.068	0.192	0.682
11	0.187	0.814	0.010	0.099	0.172	-0.008	0.037	0.181	-0.048	0.270	-0.025	0.250	0.064	0.029	-0.057	0.731
12	0.603	-0.045	0.399	0.126	-0.136	0.194	-0.136	-0.071	0.000	-0.037	0.055	0.042	0.007	0.168	0.365	0.787
13	0.853	0.003	0.186	0.084	0.082	-0.078	-0.009	0.120	-0.098	0.084	0.140	-0.041	0.022	-0.046	0.190	0.874
14	-0.067	-0.193	0.321	-0.104	0.378	0.131	-0.008	0.265	0.035	0.127	-0.013	-0.108	0.153	0.310	0.488	0.773
15	0.091	-0.049	0.244	0.266	0.050	0.627	-0.008	0.064	-0.037	0.176	0.142	0.134	-0.210	0.230	0.247	0.770
16	0.628	0.287	0.330	-0.101	-0.018	0.239	0.081	-0.186	0.114	-0.063	0.032	0.011	-0.008	0.171	0.093	0.751
17	0.153	0.490	0.047	0.166	-0.252	0.438	0.105	0.028	0.061	-0.189	0.239	0.167	0.059	0.047	-0.026	0.692
18	0.715	0.273	-0.076	-0.050	0.053	-0.076	0.091	0.329	0.144	-0.017	-0.065	0.298	-0.015	-0.059	0.075	0.843
19	0.603	0.221	0.042	0.172	0.154	0.287	-0.094	0.109	0.075	-0.149	-0.106	0.078	0.176	0.141	0.188	0.703
20	0.358	0.195	0.291	0.016	0.240	0.125	-0.061	-0.193	0.045	0.100	0.026	-0.048	0.546	0.027	0.263	0.748
21	0.421	0.261	0.126	0.017	0.045	0.010	0.417	0.473	0.014	-0.012	0.112	0.064	0.013	0.200	0.317	0.818
22	0.841	0.056	0.019	0.116	0.108	-0.200	0.096	0.006	-0.020	0.023	0.205	0.103	0.010	0.050	0.024	0.841
23	0.749	0.456	-0.044	-0.127	-0.118	0.017	0.009	-0.063	-0.037	-0.059	0.076	0.121	0.072	0.037	-0.059	0.840
24	0.600	0.160	0.227	-0.005	0.038	0.201	0.163	0.439	0.024	0.043	-0.023	0.000	-0.057	0.022	0.193	0.742
25	0.470	-0.013	-0.079	-0.104	-0.079	0.205	-0.103	0.187	0.025	-0.042	0.112	0.181	0.240	0.029	0.365	0.571
26	0.447	0.595	0.056	0.001	0.046	-0.029	0.208	0.208	-0.039	0.196	0.109	0.172	0.236	-0.120	0.344	0.873
27	0.341	0.208	0.278	0.028	0.055	0.087	-0.050	0.079	-0.094	0.023	-0.029	0.419	-0.088	0.132	0.515	0.733
28	0.408	0.646	0.178	-0.062	-0.090	-0.003	0.244	0.009	0.118	0.149	0.097	0.211	0.071	0.000	0.238	0.838
29	0.291	0.227	0.219	-0.021	0.022	0.226	0.066	0.403	0.184	-0.146	0.059	0.034	-0.135	0.005	0.480	0.712
30	0.811	-0.064	0.021	-0.029	-0.014	0.014	0.006	0.186	-0.038	0.083	0.190	-0.114	-0.075	0.032	0.124	0.777
31	0.494	-0.091	0.140	0.053	-0.175	0.210	-0.020	0.255	0.091	0.175	-0.313	-0.164	0.218	0.162	0.301	0.743
32	0.505	0.671	-0.128	0.054	0.017	-0.083	0.207	0.020	0.038	-0.041	0.070	-0.195	-0.080	-0.190	-0.006	0.863
33	0.326	0.471	0.328	0.050	-0.081	0.315	0.098	0.147	0.106	0.081	-0.045	0.170	0.058	0.043	0.246	0.689

34	0.300	0.704	-0.016	0.060	0.166	-0.184	0.036	0.102	0.120	0.019	0.092	-0.106	-0.195	-0.114	0.157	0.819
35	0.756	0.084	0.214	0.011	0.004	0.085	0.015	0.100	-0.009	-0.001	-0.155	-0.059	-0.186	0.181	0.256	0.802
36	0.162	0.026	0.808	-0.115	-0.215	0.087	0.123	0.102	-0.019	0.029	-0.016	-0.017	0.037	0.057	0.091	0.787
37	0.493	0.570	0.196	0.056	0.109	0.008	-0.054	-0.126	-0.055	-0.002	0.249	0.041	-0.188	-0.036	0.067	0.748
38	0.636	0.418	0.076	-0.167	0.010	-0.008	0.092	-0.122	0.205	-0.053	0.206	0.134	-0.110	-0.012	0.255	0.819
39	0.173	-0.099	0.301	0.055	0.012	0.300	0.022	0.404	0.140	0.125	0.076	0.189	-0.061	0.505	0.185	0.757
40	0.704	-0.274	0.106	0.052	0.013	0.114	0.085	0.011	0.130	-0.183	0.049	0.129	0.188	0.191	0.151	0.769
41	0.481	0.339	0.127	-0.280	0.000	0.121	0.203	-0.045	0.012	0.075	0.067	0.215	-0.058	0.000	0.164	0.585
42	0.298	-0.109	0.220	0.105	0.326	0.246	-0.102	0.226	0.509	0.252	-0.021	0.121	-0.034	-0.181	0.236	0.816
43	0.154	0.691	-0.091	0.083	-0.058	0.112	-0.020	0.154	-0.107	0.134	0.044	-0.054	-0.163	-0.185	-0.074	0.843
44	0.094	0.229	0.715	0.110	0.205	0.077	0.083	0.024	0.063	-0.051	0.090	0.081	-0.079	0.079	0.197	0.713
45	0.312	0.099	0.132	0.232	0.105	-0.029	0.000	0.489	0.119	-0.043	0.312	0.196	0.036	-0.116	0.376	0.737
46	0.689	0.015	0.155	-0.078	-0.117	-0.067	0.055	0.090	0.159	0.016	0.077	0.127	-0.043	0.079	0.469	0.810
47	-0.087	0.134	0.042	0.056	-0.037	0.010	-0.007	0.025	0.007	0.895	0.000	0.009	0.011	0.021	0.031	0.835
48	0.299	0.396	0.166	-0.062	0.228	-0.084	-0.066	0.020	0.027	-0.057	0.157	0.517	-0.306	-0.006	0.183	0.764
49	0.488	0.610	0.101	0.130	0.108	0.037	0.110	-0.139	0.079	0.045	-0.036	0.100	-0.049	0.143	0.341	0.840
50	0.780	0.094	0.086	-0.107	0.085	0.337	-0.113	0.086	0.059	-0.102	0.077	-0.002	0.075	-0.085	0.003	0.809
51	-0.280	0.722	-0.058	-0.119	-0.150	-0.012	-0.050	-0.066	-0.197	-0.168	-0.233	0.113	0.174	0.093	0.023	0.820
52	0.583	-0.126	0.459	0.002	0.050	0.012	-0.246	0.020	0.032	-0.054	-0.158	0.128	-0.008	-0.138	0.152	0.718
53	0.236	0.177	0.361	0.036	-0.022	0.167	-0.029	0.381	-0.243	0.330	0.213	0.217	0.118	0.083	0.020	0.674
54	-0.062	-0.061	0.149	0.097	-0.819	-0.013	-0.160	-0.046	0.049	0.050	-0.034	-0.044	-0.046	-0.028	0.027	0.749
55	-0.057	0.116	0.004	0.004	0.085	0.086	-0.025	-0.068	-0.857	0.044	-0.041	-0.024	-0.021	-0.045	-0.026	0.779
56	0.306	0.143	0.075	-0.029	0.024	0.119	0.070	-0.028	0.049	0.033	0.804	-0.008	0.050	0.055	0.111	0.808
57	0.073	-0.305	0.530	0.235	0.097	-0.021	0.091	0.267	-0.052	0.186	0.029	0.250	0.259	-0.058	0.090	0.703
58	-0.073	0.011	-0.039	0.951	-0.022	0.078	0.016	0.036	-0.034	-0.013	-0.018	-0.009	0.016	0.070	0.012	0.926
59	0.353	-0.103	0.462	0.276	0.033	-0.195	-0.099	0.142	0.121	0.115	0.071	0.083	0.097	0.093	0.384	0.700
60	0.130	0.019	0.846	-0.132	-0.140	-0.013	0.165	0.116	0.014	0.033	0.025	-0.050	0.057	0.059	0.083	0.829
61	0.339	0.368	0.002	0.039	-0.024	0.046	0.072	0.175	0.096	0.075	-0.046	0.681	0.106	0.086	0.154	0.814
62	0.206	-0.026	0.301	-0.041	0.245	0.176	-0.025	0.158	-0.203	-0.189	0.094	0.148	0.171	-0.058	0.501	0.643
63	-0.059	0.020	0.000	0.028	-0.087	0.075	0.021	0.110	0.046	0.074	0.002	0.020	-0.013	-0.006	-0.030	0.900
64	0.687	-0.066	0.305	0.006	0.153	0.065	-0.013	0.110	-0.049	0.082	0.166	0.056	0.134	0.170	0.221	0.745
65	0.736	0.164	0.070	0.119	0.121	-0.009	0.232	0.114	0.051	-0.081	-0.142	0.084	0.118	-0.054	0.293	0.808
66	0.463	0.597	-0.078	-0.007	0.083	-0.029	0.154	-0.098	0.135	0.093	0.064	0.132	-0.092	0.256	-0.276	0.817
67	0.479	0.041	0.370	-0.002	-0.050	0.056	-0.069	0.101	0.075	-0.035	-0.017	-0.002	0.003	-0.056	0.622	0.786
68	-0.209	0.690	0.081	0.008	-0.044	0.233	0.001	0.047	-0.202	-0.145	0.172	0.049	0.161	-0.040	0.023	0.707
69	-0.239	0.783	-0.055	-0.250	-0.025	0.079	-0.089	-0.003	-0.149	-0.200	-0.089	-0.065	0.067	0.056	-0.011	0.832
70	-0.164	0.759	0.021	-0.041	-0.015	-0.049	-0.135	-0.334	0.181	0.149	0.044	0.071	0.114	-0.078	-0.161	0.845
71	0.215	0.133	0.329	0.220	0.118	-0.180	-0.142	0.140	-0.047	-0.143	0.152	-0.085	0.163	0.431	0.302	0.664
72	0.186	0.426	0.333	0.029	0.030	0.091	0.176	0.137	-0.029	-0.080	0.318	0.031	0.449	0.179	0.024	0.730

73	0.006	0.236	-0.430	-0.008	-0.115	0.003	0.147	0.035	0.281	0.091	0.117	0.333	-0.030	0.339	0.080	0.113
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Factor Loading for the Social Policy Q-sort

Part. No.	Factor/Loadings															
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	
1	-0.082	0.023	0.423	0.097	0.318	0.018	0.212	0.309	0.027	0.105	-0.169	0.365	0.055	0.307	-0.047	0.710
2	0.324	-0.063	0.041	0.000	0.252	0.545	0.075	0.069	0.184	0.270	-0.128	0.037	0.088	0.296	0.272	0.775
3	0.109	0.049	0.461	0.032	0.239	-0.083	0.216	0.182	0.075	0.187	-0.149	0.152	0.102	0.521	-0.041	0.741
4	0.200	0.148	0.134	0.098	-0.134	0.010	0.078	0.020	0.043	0.045	-0.032	0.021	0.083	0.746	-0.196	0.722
5	0.081	0.061	0.519	0.355	0.144	-0.087	-0.048	0.172	-0.056	0.082	-0.043	0.011	0.029	0.572	-0.058	0.809
6	0.311	-0.265	0.209	0.017	0.094	0.277	0.227	0.164	0.183	-0.350	-0.030	-0.283	0.210	-0.289	0.062	0.743
7	0.262	-0.112	0.324	0.224	0.039	-0.293	0.182	0.389	-0.038	0.006	-0.256	0.075	0.106	0.335	-0.270	0.777
8	0.573	-0.009	0.266	0.238	0.100	0.118	-0.046	-0.029	0.181	0.086	-0.255	0.037	-0.074	0.373	0.138	0.753
9	0.005	0.006	0.056	0.240	0.102	0.066	0.150	-0.034	-0.034	0.130	-0.074	0.101	0.125	0.785	0.273	0.840
10	0.280	0.024	0.121	0.114	0.121	0.167	0.110	0.210	0.686	0.087	-0.017	0.049	0.089	0.230	0.197	0.786
11	0.156	0.407	0.159	0.031	-0.226	0.019	0.017	-0.055	0.075	0.194	-0.025	0.005	0.119	0.690	0.012	0.806
12	0.255	0.174	0.602	0.132	0.171	-0.173	0.164	0.135	0.238	0.077	-0.221	-0.048	0.085	0.227	0.098	0.763
13	0.053	0.143	0.439	0.030	0.198	0.181	0.011	-0.015	0.046	-0.020	-0.132	0.226	0.107	0.606	0.118	0.753
14	0.620	-0.012	-0.016	0.294	0.193	-0.328	0.001	0.097	0.089	0.034	-0.216	0.297	-0.041	0.174	0.035	0.802
15	0.226	0.093	0.097	0.494	-0.207	0.121	0.161	0.180	0.047	-0.034	0.168	0.432	0.125	0.335	0.093	0.783
16	0.141	-0.243	0.197	-0.032	0.136	-0.131	0.023	0.181	0.007	0.010	0.185	0.249	0.093	0.668	0.138	0.758
17	0.483	0.335	-0.032	-0.090	-0.045	-0.221	0.007	0.197	-0.036	0.085	0.017	0.293	0.172	0.346	-0.058	0.692
18	-0.067	0.118	0.451	0.084	0.007	0.039	0.316	0.047	0.009	0.186	0.027	0.067	0.054	0.618	0.070	0.762
19	0.308	-0.106	0.253	0.149	0.133	-0.084	0.041	-0.094	0.280	0.046	0.138	0.011	0.026	0.603	0.074	0.697
20	0.265	0.081	0.273	0.218	0.124	-0.298	-0.053	-0.072	0.181	0.150	0.140	0.120	0.410	0.428	0.238	0.809
21	0.574	0.166	0.399	0.064	0.238	0.049	0.202	-0.028	0.204	0.114	0.292	0.161	0.024	0.120	0.086	0.809
22	-0.169	-0.065	0.244	-0.059	-0.013	0.043	-0.005	0.667	0.058	-0.311	0.037	-0.060	0.106	0.093	0.095	0.676
23	0.151	0.167	0.149	0.054	-0.012	0.115	0.216	0.152	0.210	0.003	0.029	0.057	-0.044	0.755	-0.041	0.781
24	0.175	-0.108	0.546	0.079	0.067	0.151	0.359	0.029	-0.122	-0.149	0.150	0.275	0.052	0.356	0.010	0.769
25	-0.480	-0.058	-0.323	-0.079	-0.189	0.056	-0.247	0.023	-0.011	-0.405	-0.047	-0.145	-0.037	-0.256	-0.034	0.701
26	0.275	0.344	0.162	0.149	-0.028	0.062	0.126	0.031	0.071	0.114	0.095	0.573	0.124	0.464	0.012	0.850
27	0.189	0.039	0.377	0.273	0.101	0.078	0.179	0.126	0.196	0.171	0.400	0.120	-0.216	0.389	0.262	0.827
28	0.206	0.277	0.113	0.027	-0.013	0.045	0.153	0.108	-0.274	0.265	-0.109	0.206	-0.046	0.540	0.426	0.845
29	0.274	0.083	0.161	0.198	-0.023	0.001	0.340	0.065	0.069	0.129	0.112	0.129	-0.111	0.599	0.126	0.705
30	0.141	-0.072	0.760	0.046	0.051	0.055	-0.043	0.117	-0.105	0.013	-0.047	-0.086	0.113	0.351	0.016	0.783
31	0.215	-0.247	0.071	0.059	0.084	-0.077	0.047	0.041	0.262	-0.114	-0.175	0.074	0.071	0.252	0.145	0.784
32	-0.154	0.448	0.272	-0.021	0.051	0.049	0.120	0.370	-0.132	0.106	-0.105	-0.003	0.097	0.488	-0.030	0.744
33	0.321	0.047	0.137	0.169	-0.099	-0.013	0.053	0.327	-0.100	0.163	0.191	0.092	0.104	0.564	0.161	0.708
34	-0.131	0.421	0.109	-0.176	-0.194	-0.022	0.076	0.223	0.083	0.248	-0.369	-0.184	0.026	0.496	-0.127	0.832

35	-0.009	0.058	0.429	0.171	0.156	0.158	0.153	0.023	-0.065	-0.050	0.273	0.191	-0.101	0.670	0.081	0.873
36	0.149	-0.078	0.124	0.149	0.002	0.035	0.012	0.204	0.086	0.051	-0.032	0.057	0.797	0.226	-0.002	0.810
37	0.073	0.171	0.053	-0.031	0.146	0.006	-0.083	-0.008	0.137	-0.008	0.128	-0.135	0.043	0.849	0.007	0.842
38	0.125	0.106	0.246	0.082	0.207	-0.020	-0.218	0.117	0.009	0.002	-0.089	0.160	0.031	0.741	0.052	0.785
39	0.188	-0.022	0.099	0.143	-0.020	0.065	0.143	0.166	0.240	0.188	0.244	0.001	0.138	0.210	0.676	0.791
40	0.158	-0.345	0.401	0.122	0.316	-0.221	0.137	-0.173	0.289	0.158	0.358	-0.144	0.163	0.158	-0.051	0.828
41	0.251	0.463	0.188	-0.105	-0.075	0.087	0.098	0.260	0.136	0.084	0.191	0.034	-0.107	0.586	-0.039	0.834
42	0.830	-0.011	0.159	-0.017	0.180	0.036	0.100	-0.045	0.010	0.000	0.050	-0.064	0.196	0.085	0.011	0.812
43	0.158	0.468	0.217	-0.193	-0.032	-0.357	0.002	0.052	-0.075	0.079	0.360	-0.188	-0.024	0.452	-0.014	0.841
44	0.209	-0.124	0.112	0.201	-0.043	0.048	0.436	-0.019	-0.035	-0.029	0.242	0.130	0.401	-0.122	0.289	0.644
45	0.401	-0.155	0.178	-0.081	0.269	-0.114	0.278	-0.098	0.104	-0.055	0.018	0.333	0.372	-0.109	0.259	0.738
46	0.096	-0.002	0.372	0.181	0.094	0.084	0.341	0.147	-0.029	0.045	0.287	0.184	0.129	0.527	-0.053	0.750
47	0.051	0.170	0.149	0.795	-0.072	0.047	0.054	-0.057	0.029	-0.137	0.143	0.050	0.113	0.099	0.090	0.772
48	0.149	0.111	-0.102	0.096	0.107	0.011	0.134	0.583	0.155	0.111	-0.079	0.244	0.162	0.233	0.120	0.728
49	0.148	0.237	0.144	0.158	0.046	0.062	0.338	0.169	-0.002	0.034	0.012	-0.130	0.160	0.620	0.069	0.732
50	-0.037	-0.166	0.573	-0.040	0.326	-0.087	-0.051	0.084	-0.088	0.201	-0.021	-0.050	0.193	0.444	0.050	0.770
51	-0.068	0.479	-0.064	0.184	-0.338	-0.103	-0.167	-0.068	0.283	0.290	0.037	0.056	-0.042	0.187	-0.018	0.63
52	0.240	-0.024	0.228	0.466	0.149	-0.153	0.310	0.333	0.068	0.248	0.101	-0.085	0.126	0.211	-0.102	0.7
53	0.296	0.197	0.116	0.320	0.069	-0.008	-0.231	0.316	0.167	0.005	0.130	0.073	-0.007	0.440	0.144	0.6
54	0.061	0.017	0.216	0.236	0.221	-0.095	0.440	0.023	0.190	0.027	-0.071	0.299	0.154	0.510	0.222	0.8
55	0.223	0.268	0.189	-0.002	0.107	-0.058	0.048	0.204	0.142	0.389	-0.035	0.111	0.072	0.662	-0.027	0.8
56	0.690	-0.213	0.040	0.102	0.097	0.260	0.037	0.017	0.065	0.166	-0.069	-0.036	0.040	0.385	0.091	0.8
57	0.547	-0.034	-0.017	0.353	0.209	-0.052	0.154	-0.012	0.231	0.242	0.129	0.111	0.222	0.274	0.026	0.76
58	0.245	0.068	0.314	0.070	0.835	0.023	0.050	0.045	0.123	0.002	0.071	-0.005	0.029	0.095	0.030	0.9
59	0.231	0.018	-0.024	0.171	0.109	-0.009	0.114	0.015	-0.025	-0.015	0.804	0.045	0.042	0.167	0.144	0.80
60	0.453	-0.058	0.201	0.034	0.092	-0.006	0.228	0.083	-0.306	0.225	0.230	-0.102	0.462	0.037	0.193	0.77
61	0.401	0.191	0.125	0.037	0.035	0.244	-0.043	0.083	-0.076	0.0265	0.094	0.044	0.355	0.568	0.115	0.8
62	0.235	-0.047	0.034	0.407	0.251	-0.044	0.235	0.239	0.065	0.215	0.245	-0.066	0.052	0.424	0.143	0.7
63	0.248	-0.086	0.150	-0.039	0.867	-0.004	0.106	0.025	-0.010	0.002	0.129	0.021	0.016	0.121	-0.019	0.8
64	0.230	-0.136	0.513	0.441	0.344	-0.046	0.178	-0.081	0.168	0.089	-0.069	0.080	0.029	0.140	-0.075	0.7
65	0.165	-0.182	0.168	0.048	0.241	-0.039	0.628	0.147	0.081	-0.082	0.103	0.053	0.000	0.400	0.086	0.76
66	0.246	0.036	0.077	-0.076	-0.022	0.060	-0.023	-0.031	0.053	0.786	0.033	-0.017	0.112	0.230	0.145	0.78
67	0.276	0.131	-0.003	0.268	0.177	0.048	0.469	0.006	0.104	0.147	0.278	-0.014	0.011	0.530	0.027	0.81
68	-0.075	0.915	-0.108	0.057	0.015	0.006	-0.009	-0.034	-0.028	-0.015	0.018	0.043	-0.067	0.128	0.007	0.88
69	0.014	0.887	-0.094	0.087	0.078	0.000	-0.051	-0.013	-0.040	0.007	0.028	0.048	-0.031	0.157	0.054	0.89
70	0.030	0.556	-0.117	0.116	-0.252	0.509	-0.062	0.037	0.186	-0.061	-0.032	0.047	0.033	0.338	-0.135	0.84
71	0.047	0.099	0.208	-0.027	0.190	0.082	0.050	0.217	0.122	0.197	0.449	0.047	0.373	0.444	-0.191	0.77

Appendix X: Factor scores

FACTOR SCORES

Explanations for Child sexual abuse

Item No.	Factor /Rating				
	F1	F2	F4	F5	F11
1	-1	+5	-4	-4	+2
2	-1	0	+2	+3	-2
3	-2	+1	+4	-1	0
4	-5	-2	+3	+3	-2
5	-1	+3	-3	-4	0
6	-1	-3	-4	-1	-1
7	-4	-3	-2	+1	-2
8	-3	-1	+5	+2	+3
9	+1	-2	0	-2	+2
10	-3	+4	+3	-2	+3
11	-2	-1	+4	+5	-4
12	-1	+3	-2	-5	-4
13	-2	-4	+1	-1	+1
14	-3	+1	0	+4	+5
15	0	0	-1	-1	-1
16	-2	+1	+4	+4	+3
17	-3	0	-3	+2	+2
18	-1	-2	0	+4	0
19	0	+4	-5	0	-3
20	-5	+2	+1	-2	-4
21	-3	+2	+4	+3	+4
22	-5	+2	+3	-1	+2
23	-5	+3	+1	+1	+4
24	-1	-1	-1	0	-2
25	-4	-3	+2	-1	+4
26	-4	-2	+1	+1	+1
27	-4	+2	-4	0	-5
28	-5	-1	-4	-5	-5
29	-5	-2	+2	+4	0
30	-3	+5	+1	+3	+5
31	-2	-5	+1	0	-3
32	-2	0	+3	-3	+1
33	+2	-2	+2	+5	+3
34	-2	0	0	+1	-1
35	-3	-1	-2	-3	-5
36	0	+2	-3	+3	-3
37	-1	+1	0	-1	+1
38	-4	0	-1	+2	-3
39	0	-1	-3	-1	0
40	0	+1	+1	+2	-4
41	-2	+1	+3	0	+1
42	0	0	-5	0	-3
43	-3	+2	+5	-5	0
44	-4	-5	-2	-3	-4
45	+1	+2	+4	0	-2
46	-2	+4	-1	-3	+2
47	-2	+3	+2	+2	-1
48	0	+2	-2	-2	0

49	+4	+1	0	0	+2
50	+2	0	+2	+2	0
51	-4	-1	-1	+2	+2
52	+1	-4	0	+1	+5
53	-4	-3	-4	-2	-3
54	-2	-3	-5	-4	-2
55	0	-4	-3	-3	0
56	-2	-3	+3	-3	-1
57	-1	-5	-2	-4	-2
58	-1	-4	-2	-2	-1
59	+4	-3	+1	-5	+1
60	+1	+3	0	+1	+3
61	-1	+4	0	0	-1
62	-2	0	-1	+2	-1
63	+3	-1	+2	-2	+1
64	+2	-2	-1	-3	+4
65	-3	-2	-3	-2	-1
66	-1	+1	-1	-4	+3
67	0	-4	+2	+1	+4
68	+3	+4	+5	+1	+2
69	-3	+5	-2	+4	-2

FACTOR SCORES:
Standpoints on and Definitions of Child Sexual Abuse

Item No.	Factor/Rating		
	F1	F2	F3
1	-4	-2	+3
2	-1	-1	-5
3	-1	-1	-3
4	+1	+1	+2
5	-3	-5	+2
6	+4	+1	-1
7	+4	0	+2
8	-4	0	0
9	+4	-1	-2
10	-3	+3	-2
11	0	+4	-2
12	+1	-2	-3
13	0	-1	-1
14	-2	+1	-1
15	+3	-1	-2
16	-4	-2	+1
17	-2	+4	0
18	0	+2	+2
19	-1	0	-1
20	-1	-1	-2
21	-5	0	-4
22	-5	-2	-4
23	-2	-5	+2
24	+2	0	+2
25	-1	+4	+1
26	+5	+1	+5
27	+2	+2	+3
28	-3	+1	-4
29	+1	-2	+3
30	-1	+2	+5
31	-2	0	-2
32	-4	+3	0
33	-2	0	-4
34	-1	+3	0
35	-4	+1	-4
36	+1	+2	-1
37	+5	+4	+3
38	0	-3	0
39	+1	+3	+1
40	+3	+1	+4
41	-2	-2	-3
42	-2	-4	+1
43	-3	+3	-1
44	-5	-3	+1
45	-3	+2	-1
46	-1	+5	+4
47	-2	+5	0
48	-1	-2	+4
49	-5	-1	+2

50	-2	-3	+4
51	-3	-1	+5
52	-3	-3	-3
53	-3	-4	+3
54	-3	-3	+2
55	-4	-2	+1
56	-2	-3	-2
57	0	-5	0
58	-3	-2	-3
59	-1	+3	+3
60	0	+5	+1
61	-2	0	-2
62	0	-4	0
63	-2	-2	-3
64	0	+2	-5
65	0	-4	+4
66	-2	-4	-1
67	-1	-4	+1
68	-4	0	0
69	-2	+1	-5

FACTOR SCORES

Social Policy and General Approaches to Child Sexual Abuse

Item No.	Factor/Rating		
	F2	F3	F14
1	-1	-2	-2
2	-2	-3	0
3	-2	-1	+3
4	-2	-4	-4
5	-3	-1	-4
6	-1	0	+3
7	0	-1	0
8	0	+5	+3
9	-5	+3	-2
10	-5	-1	-1
11	-3	-1	-2
12	-4	0	0
13	-2	0	-4
14	0	-4	-4
15	-2	-3	0
16	-1	0	-1
17	-3	+5	+4
18	-4	+1	-1
19	-5	+4	+5
20	-2	+4	+4
21	-3	0	+1
22	-2	-2	-2
23	-4	+1	+4
24	-4	-2	-2
25	-4	-5	0
26	-2	+4	+3
27	-3	+2	0
28	0	+3	+2
29	-3	+2	+3
30	-1	+3	+2
31	-2	+1	-3
32	+2	+4	0
33	+2	0	+4
34	+1	+1	+1
35	+2	+2	-2
36	+3	0	+1
37	-2	+3	+4
38	-4	+1	-2
39	-2	+1	+2
40	-3	+1	+1
41	-4	+2	+5
42	-4	0	+2
43	0	+2	-2
44	-1	-1	+1
45	0	-2	-2
46	-1	+3	0
47	0	-3	0
48	-3	-2	-2
49	-2	-5	-2
50	-4	-4	+1

51	-1	-3	-1
52	+1	-2	+2
53	+5	-2	+2
54	-3	-4	+2
55	-1	-5	-1
56	-5	+4	-2
57	-3	-3	-1
58	-5	0	-5
59	-1	-4	-4
60	0	-2	+1
61	0	+1	-2
62	+2	+2	+2
63	-1	+2	+1
64	-1	-1	-5
65	-1	+3	+3
66	-1	-3	-5
67	+1	+2	-1
68	+3	+5	+5
69	+4	-1	-1

Appendix XI

**Composite grids for participants who provided
exemplifying Q-sorts**

Explanations for Child Sexual Abuse

Factor 1: A Mainstream Professional Account of Child Sexual Abuse

-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
201 Some father-daughter incest arises because they fall in love.	71 Generally, child sexual abuse is better understood as a 'symptom of the moment' offence rather than as a premeditated one.	691 The less fuss we make about an act of child sexual abuse, the better at last as the recovery of the child is concerned	311 We need to recognise that the forces of evil may lie behind some of the more pervened forms of child sexual abuse	21 The woman who knows about and colludes with child sexual abuse often escapes the punishment that her partner is likely to suffer	421 We will never fully understand why a man is sexually abusing a child in the family, unless we look to the behaviour of the woman.	61 Single sex education can give individuals a taste for young people of the same sex	161 Women who do not report the sexual abuse of their children, are often so dependent on the man that they are prepared to pay any price to keep him from leaving	681 In terms of child sexual abuse, it is naive to automatically assume that women are safe with children	381 It is helpful to look at child sexual abuse as a symptom of an underlying personal problem or crisis in the abuser	221 Sexual abuse is a way of life in some families
281 Child sexual abuse is a habit that Britons have caught from contact with the practices of other culture and societies	271 Working mothers by their absence, create the opportunity for child sexual abuse.	301 There is no reason why a child victim of sexual abuse should go on to become a child sexual abuser themselves	461 Sex with a child often has no more complicated an explanation than it was the most convenient way for somebody to fulfil sexual needs	611 To my mind, there is no link between exposure to pornography in childhood and a later tendency to become a child sexual abuser	551 I expect the modern tendency to dress boys and girls more alike will reduce the incidence of child sexual abuse	241 Society's denial of sexuality to older people, drives some senior citizens to child sexual abuse	561 The very position of trust that women have traditionally held over the care of children has also allowed them to sexually abuse unrecognized	171 Fathers who have intimately cared for their children - bathed them, fed them and changed them - are less likely to sexually abuse than fathers who have had a more distant relationship	261 I accept the notion that child sexual abuse can be an unconscious expression of anger	231 Parent-child incest most often involves an on-going sexual relationship
291 Some people are turned on by rubberwear, some by silk lingerie and some by children. The reasons for all three are much the same.	441 An interest in sex with children is like a disease, it is very easy to catch from close contact with an abuser	651 Sadly, the normal affectionate touching between a parent and a child can occasionally slip into something that is sexually abusive.	621 When a boy has been sexually abused, our first assumption should be that the abuse took place outside of the family	581 As women progressively take over traditionally male roles and activities, they are also more likely to take over male roles like child sexual abuse.	391 If only we could rap the potential child sexual abuser across the back of the neck, the women they hands start wondering, we would have a lot less sexual abuse	91 The ways our schools have handled the sexual education of the present generation of parents is a factor in the sexual abuse we see today	321 The reasons for sex between an adult and an adolescent are very different from the reasons for sex between an adult and a small child	101 The motivations for the sexual abuse of children are very different from the reasons why people physically abuse or neglect them	491 It is helpful to see child sexual abuse as resulting from distorted thinking/living in a world of "wiredness"	111 Some people get hooked on child sexual abuse in the same way that others get hooked on drugs or gambling
	511 Those cultures which have extended families e.g. where grandparents, aunts etc. are very much part of the family, provide a high level of protection for children from sexual abuse.	711 Incest can occur even in really well adjusted families.	541 Our modern polluted environment, full of chemicals which may damage nervous systems and affect behaviour, has a lot to answer for in terms of the current epidemic of child sexual abuse	121 Having access to pornographic magazines and videos makes people less likely to sexually abuse children	401 Adults have the need to express themselves in sexual relationships, sexual abuse may occur if an individual is unable to meet such needs in more conventional ways.	451 Paedophilia in women is one of the great unrecognized child abuse problems of our time	331 For some people, children are sexually alluring because they are "forbidden fruit"	141 A society that encourages little girls to buy make-up, uses them to sell jeans, and offers them role models like "Madonna" stimulates the sexual abuse of girls	591 To my mind, sexual abuse has the habit of running in families	
	531 Modern family life exposes men to temptations to sexually abuse which their fathers and grandfathers never faced	351 Sexual abuse seldom happens in families without the collusion of other family members	311 Normal parents don't experience sexual feelings when caring intimately for their children	371 Child sexual abuse is less common in societies that are open about sex.	671 Sexual abuse by other children is one of the great unrecognized child sexual abuse problems of our time	601 The explanations for child sexual abuse in one culture will not necessarily work in another culture	471 It is naive to regard child sexual abuse as a symptom of a sexually sick society	631 When a girl has been sexually abused, our first assumption should be that the abuse took place within the family.	251 The more we long up children to please adults, the more we make them vulnerable to adult demands for sex	
		431 The reasons why men sexually abuse children and why women do so are fundamentally the same.	111 Sexually abusing children is a sign of a psychiatric illness requiring medical or psychological treatment.	661 All children's play can get out of hand, sex play is no different.	151 Societies that live 'close to nature' may not enjoy some of the so-called benefits of modern civilization, but neither do they have the problem of child sexual abuse	111 All other things being equal, the older the child the more we should accept the idea that they may have chosen to get involved in a relationship with an adult	501 If 'caring' turns to 'loving' we have child sexual abuse	81 The reasons why step-parents sexually abuse children are no different from the reasons why biological parents do so		
			131 I suspect that the sexual abuse of animals and the sexual abuse of young children have very similar explanations.	571 The more we have a society based around couples doing things together, the more likely it is that one of those things will be the sexual abuse of children	561 Inanimate animals are frequently used sexually by older, more experienced animals, we should not be surprised to find the same going on with human animals.	511 The closer the emotional attachment a person has with a child, the easier it is for that person to become an abuser	411 Much the same explanations hold true for paedophilia in women as for paedophilia in men			
			341 To be able to make sense of an incident of child sexual abuse we first need to know the gender of the victim and of the abuser	181 With child sexual abuse, as for so many other social problems, alcohol abuse has a lot to answer for	191 Few adults, isolated on a desert island with a child, would be able to resist, for long, the temptation to try for a sexual relationship	521 Child sexual abuse and 'wife beating' have similar explanations	641 To fully understand cases of child sexual abuse, we need to know about the cultural/ethnic background of the abuser and of the child			
					481 There is something about the stabilizing role which seems to release sexually abusive tendencies.					

Explanations for Child Sexual Abuse

Factor 2: 'Boy-Love'

-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
44) An interest in sex with children is like a disease, it is very easy to catch from close contact with an abuser	67) Sexual abuse by other children is one of the great unrecognised child sexual abuse problems of our time	6) Single sex education can give individuals a taste for young people of the same sex	9) The ways our schools have handled the sex education of the present generation of parents is a factor in the sexual abuse we see today.	11) Sexually abusing children is a sign of a psychiatric illness requiring medical or psychological treatment	15) Societies that live 'close to nature' may not enjoy some of the so-called benefits of modern civilisation, but neither do they have the problem of child sexual abuse	37) Child sexual abuse is less common in societies that are open about sex	43) The reasons why men sexually abuse children and why women do so are fundamentally the same	56) The very position of trust that women have traditionally held over the care of children has also allowed them to sexually abuse unrecognised	19) Few adults, isolated on a desert island with a child, would be able to resist, for long, the temptation to try for a sexual relationship	69) The less time we make about an act of child sexual abuse, the better as far as the recovery of the child is concerned
57) The more we have a society based around couples doing things together, the more likely it is that one of those things will be the sexual abuse of children.	52) Child sexual abuse and 'wife beating' have similar explanations	59) To my mind, sexual abuse has the habit of running in families	33) For some people, children are sexually alluring because they are 'forbidden fruit'.	39) If only we could rap the potential child sexual abuser across the knuckles the moment their hands start wandering, we would have a lot less sexual abuse	2) The woman who knows about and colludes with child sexual abuse often escapes the punishment that her partner is likely to suffer	49) It is helpful to see child sexual abuse as resulting from distorted thinking/living in a world of 'unreality'.	48) There is something about the stepfathering role which seems to release sexually abusive tendencies	23) Parent-child incest most often involves an on-going sexual relationship.	68) In terms of child sexual abuse, it is naive to automatically assume that women are safe with children	30) There is no reason why a child victim of sexual abuse should go on to become a child sexual abuser themselves
31) We need to recognise that the forces of evil may lie behind some of the more perverted forms of child sexual abuse	13) I suspect that the sexual abuse of animals and the sexual abuse of young children have very similar explanations.	53) Modern family life exposes men to temptations to sexually abuse which their fathers and grandfathers never faced.	4) Some people get hooked onto child sexual abuse in the same way that others get hooked onto drugs or gambling	28) Child sexual abuse is a habit that Britons have caught from contact with the practices of other cultures and societies	17) Fathers who have intimately cared for their children - bathed them, fed them and changed them - are less likely to sexually abuse than fathers who have had a more distant relationship	66) All children's play can get out of hand, sex play is no different.	21) Incest can occur even in really well adjusted families	12) Having access to pornographic magazines and videos makes people less likely to sexually abuse children	46) Sex with a child often has no more complicated an explanation than it was the most convenient way for somebody to fulfil sexual needs	1) All other things being equal, the older the child the more we should accept the idea that they may have chosen to get involved in a relationship with an adult
	58) As women progressively take over traditionally male roles and activities, they are also more likely to take over male vices like child sexual abuse.	7) Generally, child sexual abuse is better understood as a 'spur of the moment' offence rather than as a premeditated one.	26) I accept the notion that child sexual abuse can be an unconscious expression of anger	51) Those cultures which have extended families e.g. where grandparents, aunts etc. are very much part of the family, provide a high level of protection for children from sexual abuse.	62) When a boy has been sexually abused, our first assumption should be that the abuse took place outside of the family.	16) Women who do not report the sexual abuse of their children, are often so dependent on the man that they are prepared to pay any price to keep him from leaving	45) Paedophilia in women is one of the great unrecognised child abuse problems of our time	60) The explanations for child sexual abuse in one culture will not necessarily work in another culture	10) The motivations for the sexual abuse of children are very different from the reasons why people physically abuse or neglect them	
	55) I expect the modern tendency to dress boys and girls more alike will reduce the incidence of child sexual abuse	25) The more we bring up children to please adults, the more we make them vulnerable to adult demands for sex.	29) Some people are 'turned on' by rubberwear, some by silk lingerie and some by children. The reasons for all three are much the same	8) The reasons why step-parents sexually abuse children are no different from the reasons why biological parents do so	38) It is helpful to look at child sexual abuse as a symptom of an underlying personal problem or crisis in the abuser	14) A society that encourages little girls to buy make-up, wear them to sell jeans, and offers them role models like 'Madonna' stimulates the sexual abuse of girls	36) Immature animals are frequently used sexually by older, more experienced animals, we should not be surprised to find the same going on with human animals.	47) It is naive to regard child sexual abuse as a symptom of a sexually sick society.	61) To my mind, there is no link between exposure to pornography in childhood and a later tendency to become a child sexual abuser	
		54) Our modern polluted environment, full of chemicals which may damage nervous systems and affect behaviour, has a lot to answer for in terms of the current epidemic of child sexual abuse.	65) Sadly, the normal affectionate touching between a parent and a child can occasionally slip into fondling that is sexually abusive	35) Sexual abuse seldom happens in families without the collusion of other family members	42) We will never fully understand why a man is sexually abusing a child in the family, unless we look to the behaviour of the woman	40) Adults have the need to express themselves in sexual relationships, sexual abuse may occur if an individual is unable to meet such needs in more conventional ways.	22) Sexual abuse is a way of life in some families	51) The closer the emotional attachment a person has with a child, the easier it is for that person to become an abuser		
			16) With child sexual abuse, as for so many other social problems, alcohol abuse has a lot to answer for.	63) When a girl has been sexually abused, our first assumption should be that the abuse took place within the family	50) If 'caring' turns to 'lust' we have child sexual abuse.	41) Much the same explanations hold true for paedophilia in men.	27) Working mothers, by their absence, create the opportunity for child sexual abuse			
			64) To fully understand cases of child sexual abuse, we need to know about the cultural/ethnic background of the abuser and of the child	24) Society's denial of sexuality to older people, drives some senior citizens to child sexual abuse.	34) To be able to make sense of an incident of child sexual abuse we first need to know the gender of the victim and of the abuser	3) Normal parents don't experience sexual feelings when caring intimately for their children	20) Some father-daughter incest arises because they fall in love.			
				32) The reasons for sex between an adult and an adolescent are very different from the reasons for sex between an adult and a small child.						

Explanations for Child Sexual Abuse

Factor 4: A Liberal Account of Child Sexual Abuse

-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
54) Our modern polluted environment, full of chemicals which may damage nervous systems and affect behaviour, has a lot to answer for in terms of the current epidemic of child sexual abuse	28) Child sexual abuse is a habit that Britons have caught from contact with the practices of other culture and societies.	65) Sadly, the normal affectionate touching between a parent and a child can occasionally slip into fondling that is sexually abusive	58) As women progressively take over traditionally male roles and activities, they are also more likely to take over male vices like child sexual abuse	15) Societies that live 'close to nature' may not enjoy some of the so-called benefits of modern civilization, but neither do they have the problem of child sexual abuse.	37) Child sexual abuse is less common in societies that are open about sex.	40) Adults have the need to express themselves in sexual relationships, sexual abuse may occur if an individual is unable to meet such needs in more conventional ways	63) When a girl has been sexually abused, our first assumption should be that the abuse took place within the family	41) Much the same explanations hold true for paedophilia in women as for paedophilia in men	11) Sexually abusing children is a sign of a psychiatric illness requiring medical or psychological treatment	43) The reasons why men sexually abuse children and why women do so are fundamentally the same
42) We will never fully understand why a man is sexually abusing a child in the family, unless we look to the behaviour of the woman.	13) All other things being equal, the older the child the more we should accept the idea that they may have chosen to get involved in a relationship with an adult	36) Immature animals are frequently used sexually by older, more experienced animals, we should not be surprised to find the same going on with human animals.	7) Generally, child sexual abuse is better understood as a 'spur of the moment' offence rather than as a premeditated one	64) To fully understand cases of child sexual abuse, we need to know about the cultural/ethnic background of the abuser and of the child	49) It is helpful to see child sexual abuse as resulting from distorted thinking/living in a world of 'nursery'.	131) I suspect that the sexual abuse of animals and the sexual abuse of young children have very similar explanations	21) The woman who knows about and colludes with child sexual abuse often escapes the punishment that her partner is likely to suffer	22) Sexual abuse is a way of life in some families.	45) Paedophilia in women is one of the great unrecognised child abuse problems of our time	68) In terms of child sexual abuse, it is naive to automatically assume that women are safe with children
19) Few adults, isolated on a desert island with a child, would be able to resist, for long, the temptation to try for a sexual relationship.	53) Modern family life exposes men to temptations to sexually abuse which their fathers and grandfathers never faced	17) Fathers who have intimately cared for their children - bathed them, fed them and changed them - are less likely to sexually abuse than fathers who have had a more distant relationship	48) There is something about the stepfathering role which seems to release sexually abusive tendencies.	24) Society's denial of sexuality to older people, drives some senior citizens to child sexual abuse.	18) With child sexual abuse, as for so many other social problems, alcohol abuse has a lot to answer for.	20) Some father-daughter incest arises because they fall in love.	33) For some people, children are sexually alluring because they are 'forbidden fruit'.	32) The reasons for sex between an adult and an adolescent are very different from the reasons for sex between an adult and a small child	16) Women who do not report the sexual abuse of their children, are often so dependent on the man that they are prepared to pay any price to keep him from leaving	8) The reasons why step-parents sexually abuse children are no different from the reasons why biological parents do so
	27) Working mothers, by their absence, create the opportunity for child sexual abuse.	55) I expect the modern tendency to dress boys and girls more alike will reduce the incidence of child sexual abuse	69) The less fuss we make about an act of child sexual abuse, the better as far as the recovery of the child is concerned	51) Those cultures which have extended families e.g. where grandparents, aunts etc. are very much part of the family, provide a high level of protection for children from sexual abuse.	14) A society that encourages little girls to buy make-up, uses them to sell jeans, and offers them role models like 'Madonna' stimulates the sexual abuse of girls.	31) We need to recognise that the forces of evil may lie behind some of the more perversely forms of child sexual abuse	50) If 'caring' turns to 'lusting' we have child sexual abuse.	4) Some people get hooked onto child sexual abuse in the same way that others get hooked onto drugs or gambling	3) Normal parents don't experience sexual feelings when caring intimately for their children	
6) Single sex education can give individuals a taste for young people of the same sex	5) The closer the emotional attachment a person has with a child, the easier it is for that person to become an abuser.	39) If only we could rap the potential child sexual abuser across the knuckles the moment their hands start wandering, we would have a lot less sexual abuse	35) Sexual abuse seldom happens in families without the collusion of other family members	38) It is helpful to look at child sexual abuse as a symptom of an underlying personal problem or crisis in the abuser	9) The ways our schools have handled the sex education of the present generation of parents is a factor in the sexual abuse we see today.	30) There is no reason why a child victim of sexual abuse should go on to become a child sexual abuser themselves.	47) It is naive to regard child sexual abuse as a symptom of a sexually sick society	10) The motivations for the sexual abuse of children are very different from the reasons why people physically abuse or neglect them.	21) Incest can occur even in really well adjusted families	
			44) An interest in sex with children is like a disease, it is very easy to catch from close contact with an abuser.	62) When a boy has been sexually abused, our first assumption should be that the abuse took place outside of the family	52) Child sexual abuse and 'wife beating' have similar explanations.	23) Parent-child incest most often involves an on-going sexual relationship.	29) Some people are 'turned on' by rubberwear, some by silk lingerie and some by children. The reasons for all three are much the same.	56) The very position of trust that women have traditionally held over the care of children has also allowed them to sexually abuse unrecognised		
			57) The more we have a society based around couples doing things together, the more likely it is that one of those things will be the sexual abuse of children.	46) Sex with a child often has no more complicated an explanation than it was the most convenient way for somebody to fulfil sexual needs.	60) The explanations for child sexual abuse in one culture will not necessarily work in another culture	26) I accept the notion that child sexual abuse can be an unconscious expression of anger	25) The more we bring up children to please adults, the more we make them vulnerable to adult demands for sex.			
			12) Having access to pornographic magazines and videos makes people less likely to sexually abuse children.	66) All children's play can get out of hand, sex play is no different	61) To my mind, there is no link between exposure to pornography in childhood and a later tendency to become a child sexual abuser	59) To my mind, sexual abuse has the habit of running in families.	67) Sexual abuse by other children is one of the great unrecognised child sexual abuse problems of our time.			
					34) To be able to make sense of an incident of child sexual abuse we first need to know the gender of the victim and of the abuser					

Explanations for Child Sexual Abuse

Factor 5: Sexual Abuse as Paraphilia

-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
28) Child sexual abuse is a habit that Britons have caught from contact with the practices of other culture and societies.	54) Our modern polluted environment, full of chemicals which may damage nervous systems and affect behaviour, has a lot to answer for in terms of the current epidemic of child sexual abuse.	64) To fully understand cases of child sexual abuse, we need to know about the cultural/ethnic background of the abuser and of the child.	63) When a girl has been sexually abused, our first assumption should be that the abuse took place within the family.	22) Sexual abuse is a way of life in some families.	27) Working mothers, by their absence, create the opportunity for child sexual abuse.	34) To be able to make sense of an incident of child sexual abuse we first need to know the gender of the victim and of the abuser.	81) The reasons why step-parents sexually abuse children are no different from the reasons why biological parents do so.	30) There is no reason why a child victim of sexual abuse should go on to become a child sexual abuser themselves.	14) A society that encourages little girls to buy make-up, uses them to sell jeans, and offers them role models like 'Madonna' stimulates the sexual abuse of girls.	11) Sexually abusing children is a sign of a psychiatric illness requiring medical or psychological treatment.
12) Having access to pornographic magazines and videos makes people less likely to sexually abuse children.	5) The closer the emotional attachment a person has with a child, the easier it is for that person to become an abuser.	32) The reasons for sex between an adult and an adolescent are very different from the reasons for sex between an adult and a small child.	10) The motivations for the sexual abuse of children are very different from the reasons why people physically abuse or neglect them.	37) Child sexual abuse is less common in societies that are open about sex.	49) It is helpful to see child sexual abuse as resulting from distorted thinking/living in a world of 'unreality'.	23) Parent-child incest most often involves an on-going sexual relationship.	50) If 'caring' turns to 'lustful' we have child sexual abuse.	4) Some people get hooked onto child sexual abuse in the same way that others get hooked onto drugs or gambling.	69) The less fuss we make about an act of child sexual abuse, the better as far as the recovery of the child is concerned.	43) The reasons why men sexually abuse children and why women do so are fundamentally the same.
39) To my mind, sexual abuse has the habit of running in families.	1) All other things being equal, the older the child the more we should accept the idea that they may have chosen to get involved in a relationship with an adult.	35) Sexual abuse seldom happens in families without the collusion of other family members.	58) As women progressively take over traditionally male roles and activities, they are also more likely to take over male vices like child sexual abuse.	6) Single sex education can give individuals a taste for young people of the same sex.	42) We will never fully understand why a man is sexually abusing a child in the family, unless we look to the behaviour of the woman.	52) Child sexual abuse and 'wife beating' have similar explanations.	51) Those cultures which have extended families e.g. where grandparents, aunts etc. are very much part of the family, provide a high level of protection for children from sexual abuse.	36) Immature animals are frequently used sexually by older, more experienced animals, we should not be surprised to find the same going on with human animals.	29) Some people are 'turned on' by rubberwear, some by silk lingerie and some by children. The reasons for all three are much the same.	33) For some people, children are sexually attractive because they are 'forbidden fruit'.
	66) All children's play can get out of hand, sex play is no different.	44) An interest in sex with children is like a disease. It is very easy to catch from close contact with an abuser.	9) The ways our schools have handled the sex education of the present generation of parents is a factor in the sexual abuse we see today.	13) I suspect that the sexual abuse of animals and the sexual abuse of young children have very similar explanations.	61) To my mind, there is no link between exposure to pornography in childhood and a later tendency to become a child sexual abuser.	68) In terms of child sexual abuse, it is naive to automatically assume that women are safe with children.	38) It is helpful to look at child sexual abuse as a symptom of an underlying personal problem or crisis in the abuser.	21) Incest can occur even in really well adjusted families.	16) Women who do not report the sexual abuse of their children, are often so dependent on the man that they are prepared to pay any price to keep him from leaving.	
	57) The more we have a society based around couples doing things together, the more likely it is that one of those things will be the sexual abuse of children.	55) I expect the modern tendency to dress boys and girls more alike will reduce the incidence of child sexual abuse.	65) Sadly, the normal affectionate touching between a parent and a child can occasionally slip into fondling that is sexually abusive.	3) Normal parents don't experience sexual feelings when caring intimately for their children.	19) Few adults, isolated on a desert island with a child, would be able to resist, for long, the temptation to try for a sexual relationship.	67) Sexual abuse by other children is one of the great unrecognised child sexual abuse problems of our time.	62) When a boy has been sexually abused, our first assumption should be that the abuse took place outside of the family.	2) The woman who knows about and colludes with child sexual abuse often escapes the punishment that her partner is likely to suffer.	18) With child sexual abuse, as for so many other social problems, alcohol abuse has a lot to answer for.	
		56) The very position of trust that women have traditionally held over the care of children has also allowed them to sexually abuse unrecognised.	53) Modern family life exposes men to temptations to sexually abuse which their fathers and grandfathers never faced.	39) If only we could rap the potential child sexual abuser across the knuckles the moment their hands start wandering, we would have a lot less sexual abuse.	45) Paedophilia in women is one of the great unrecognised child abuse problems of our time.	60) The explanations for child sexual abuse in one culture will not necessarily work in another culture.	17) Fathers who have intimately cared for their children - bathed them, fed them and changed them - are less likely to sexually abuse than fathers who have had a more distant relationship.	46) Sex with a child often has no more complicated an explanation than it was the most convenient way for somebody to fulfil sexual needs.		
			48) There is something about the stepfathering role which seems to release sexually abusive tendencies.	15) Societies that live 'close to nature' may not enjoy some of the so-called benefits of modern civilization, but neither do they have the problem of child sexual abuse.	24) Society's denial of sexuality in older people, drives some senior citizens to child sexual abuse.	26) I accept the notion that child sexual abuse can be an unconscious expression of anger.	40) Adults have the need to express themselves in sexual relationships; sexual abuse may occur if an individual is unable to meet such needs in more conventional ways.			
			20) Some father-daughter incest arises because they fall in love.	25) The more we bring up children to please adults, the more we make them vulnerable to adult demands for sex.	41) Much the same explanations hold true for paedophilia in women as for paedophilia in men.	7) Generally, child sexual abuse is better understood as a 'spur of the moment' offence rather than as a premeditated one.	47) It is naive to regard child sexual abuse as a symptom of a sexually sick society.			
					31) We need to recognise that the forces of evil may lie behind some of the more perverted forms of child sexual abuse.					

Explanations for Child Sexual Abuse

Factor 11: A Feminist Informed Understanding of Child Sexual Abuse

-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
28) Child sexual abuse is a habit that Britons have caught from contact with the practices of other culture and societies.	20) Some father-daughter incest arises because they fall in love.	42) We will never fully understand why a man is sexually abusing a child in the family, unless we look to the behaviour of the woman	7) Generally, child sexual abuse is better understood as a 'spur of the moment' offence rather than as a premeditated one.	36) The very position of trust that women have traditionally held over the care of children has also allowed them to sexually abuse unrecognised.	39) If only we could rap the potential child sexual abuser across the knuckles the moment their hands start wandering, we would have a lot less sexual abuse	26) I accept the notion that child sexual abuse can be an unconscious expression of anger	1) All other things being equal, the older the child the more we should accept the idea that they may have chosen to get involved in a relationship with an adult.	60) All children's play can get out of hand, sex play is no different	67) Sexual abuse by other children is one of the great unrecognised child sexual abuse problems of our time.	14) A society that encourages little girls to buy make-up, uses them to sell jeans, and offers them role models like 'Madonna' stimulates the sexual abuse of girls.
35) Sexual abuse seldom happens in families without the collusion of other family members.	11) Sexually abusing children is a sign of a psychiatric illness requiring medical or psychological treatment	38) It is helpful to look at child sexual abuse as a symptom of an underlying personal problem or crisis in the abuser.	24) Society's denial of sexuality to older people, drives some senior citizens to child sexual abuse.	58) As women progressively take over traditionally male roles and activities, they are also more likely to take over male vices like child sexual abuse	50) If 'caring' turns to 'hustling' we have child sexual abuse	37) Child sexual abuse is less common in societies that are open about sex	49) It is helpful to see child sexual abuse as resulting from distorted thinking/living in a world of 'unreality'.	60) The explanations for child sexual abuse in our culture will not necessarily work in another culture	23) Parent-child incest most often involves an on-going sexual relationship	30) There is no reason why a child victim of sexual abuse should go on to become a child sexual abuser themselves
27) Working mothers, by their absence, create the opportunity for child sexual abuse.	12) Having access to pornographic magazines and videos makes people less likely to sexually abuse children.	19) Few adults, isolated on a desert island with a child, would be able to resist, for long, the temptation to try, for a sexual relationship.	54) Our modern polluted environment, full of chemicals which may damage nervous systems and affect behaviour, has a lot to answer for in terms of the current epidemic of child sexual abuse	34) To be able to make sense of an incident of child sexual abuse we first need to know the gender of the victim and of the abuser	3) Normal parents don't experience sexual feelings when caring intimately for their children	63) When a girl has been sexually abused, our first assumption should be that the abuse took place within the family	17) Fathers who have intimately cared for their children - bathed them, fed them and changed them - are less likely to sexually abuse than fathers who have had a more distant relationship	16) Women who do not report the sexual abuse of their children, are often so dependent on the man that they are prepared to pay any price to keep him from leaving	21) Incest can occur even in really well adjusted families.	52) Child sexual abuse and 'wife beating' have similar explanations
	44) An interest in sex with children is like a disease, it is very easy to catch from close contact with an abuser.	53) Modern family life exposes men to temptations to sexually abuse which their fathers and grandfathers never faced.	69) The less fuss we make about an act of child sexual abuse, the better as far as the recovery of the child is concerned	62) When a boy has been sexually abused, our first assumption should be that the abuse took place outside of the family.	48) There is something about the stepfathering role which seems to release sexually abusive tendencies	59) To my mind, sexual abuse has the habit of running in families.	68) In terms of child sexual abuse, it is naive to automatically assume that women are safe with children.	8) The reasons why step-parents sexually abuse children are no different from the reasons why biological parents do so.	64) To fully understand cases of child sexual abuse, we need to know about the cultural/ethnic background of the abuser and of the child	
	40) Adults have the need to express themselves in sexual relationships; sexual abuse may occur if an individual is unable to meet such needs in more conventional ways	31) We need to recognise that the forces of evil may lie behind some of the more perverted forms of child sexual abuse.	45) Paedophilia in women is one of the great unrecognised child sexual abuse problems of our time	6) Single sex education can give individuals a taste for young people of the same sex.	43) The reasons why men sexually abuse children and why women do so are fundamentally the same	41) Much the same explanations hold true for paedophilia in women as for paedophilia in men	22) Sexual abuse is a way of life in some families	33) For some people, children are sexually alluring because they are 'forbidden fruit'	25) The more we bring up children to please adults, the more we make them vulnerable to adult demands for sex	
		36) Immature animals are frequently used sexually by older, more experienced animals, we should not be surprised to find the same going on with human animals	2) The woman who knows about and colludes with child sexual abuse often escapes the punishment that her partner is likely to suffer.	65) Sadly, the normal affectionate touching between a parent and a child can occasionally slip into fondling that is sexually abusive.	5) The closer the emotional attachment a person has with a child, the easier it is for that person to become an abuser.	32) The reasons for sex between an adult and an adolescent are very different from the reasons for sex between an adult and a small child.	46) Sex with a child often has no more complicated an explanation than it was the most convenient way for somebody to fulfil sexual needs.	10) The motivations for the sexual abuse of children are very different from the reasons why people physically abuse or neglect them		
			4) Some people get hooked onto child sexual abuse in the same way that others get hooked onto drugs or gambling.	61) To my mind, there is no link between exposure to pornography in childhood and a later tendency to become a child sexual abuser	29) Some people are 'turned on' by rubberwear, some by silk lingerie and some by children. The reasons for all three are much the same.	47) It is naive to regard child sexual abuse as a symptom of a sexually sick society.	9) The ways our schools have handled the sex education of the present generation of parents is a factor in the sexual abuse we see today.			
			57) The more we have a society based around couples doing things together, the more likely it is that one of those things will be the sexual abuse of children.	15) Societies that live 'close to nature' may not enjoy some of the so-called benefits of modern civilization, but neither do they have the problem of child sexual abuse	55) I expect the modern tendency to dress boys and girls more alike will reduce the incidence of child sexual abuse.	13) I suspect that the sexual abuse of animals and the sexual abuse of young children have very similar explanations.	51) Those cultures which have extended families e.g. where grandparents, aunts etc. are very much part of the family, provide a high level of protection for children from sexual abuse			
					18) With child sexual abuse, as for so many other social problems, alcohol abuse has a lot to answer for					

Standpoints on and Definitions of Child Sexual Abuse

Factor 1: A Feminist/Child Protectionist Account

-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
21) For the poor and neglected children of the world, a sexual relationship with an adult is a small price to pay for being looked after	81) Non-contact offences like 'flashing' at a youngster are not themselves forms of child sexual abuse.	5) Child sexual abusers have an illness that requires medical management	14) Learning at the age of fourteen that your parents have arranged a marriage for you is sexually abusive.	3) Paedophilia is a moral disorder rather than a disease	11) The moral panic about child sexual abuse runs the risk of making us shift our attention from the damage done by violence and neglect towards children.	2) What passes for ordinary family life in our society is in itself a sexually abusive experience	17) Child sexual abuse is a political concept, the meaning of which alters according to how the rights and needs of children are defined	15) There is world of difference between adult-child and adult-adult sex	4) There are some acts towards children that are sexually abusive no matter what the context or the motivation.	26) Child sexual abuse is just one of many unpleasant demonstrations of the power that adults have over children
22) Many of those we call 'child sexual abusers' are doing little more than adding the practical side to sex education.	32) There are many worse things that can happen to children than forming a sexual relationship with an adult.	10) The present social climate over child sexual abuse is similar to a witch-hunt in which large numbers of innocent people are bound to be wrongly accused, persecuted and punished	23) Child sexual abusers have a sickness of the soul, which needs spiritual help.	19) Some instances of child sexual abuse are best made sense of as being symbolic, e.g. forms of religious ritual or political protest	13) For all our current concern about child sexual abuse, there has never been a better time than the present to be a child	4) Practices like circumcision (male and female) should be defined as forms of ritualistic abuse.	24) Child sexual abusers are created by the social circumstances in which they have lived.	40) Governments find it more convenient to 'blame the individual' for child sexual abuse than to find the resources to tackle the heart of the problem	6) Child sexual abuse would not thrive in a society that saw children as people with needs and wishes of their own	37) An effective definition of child sexual abuse must draw upon notions of the child's basic human rights
44) The rich and influential child sexual abuser has much the same chance of being successfully prosecuted as an abuser from the working classes	35) Whatever name we may call the adult client of a child prostitute, 'child abuser' is not the right one.	28) The borderline between giving a child physical pleasure through body contact and sexual pleasure through body contact, is a difficult one to draw.	31) The tradition of family secrecy should not be blamed when child sexual abuse escapes detection	20) Those who most desire to punish child sexual abusers are those who most fear such tendencies in themselves	18) What is, and what is not, child sexual abuse can only be defined in terms of the effect upon the child.	12) Current practice over child sexual abuse reflects the concerns of social workers and other professionals to do what is best for children	27) We should not allow crimes like rape and burglary to get hidden under the label of child sexual abuse.	51) The price of living in a free society should not be paid for in the currency of child sexual abuse	7) As a society, we tend to turn our backs on and deny those facts about child sexual abuse we cannot bring ourselves to face	49) Fundamentally all forms of child sexual abuse boil down to misuse of power
	55) The kind of education programmes designed to alert children to the risk of sexual abuse, instead of protecting them may simply destroy their childhood innocence.	54) Child sexual abuse is a symptom of a decline in moral values.	33) I worry about the motives of those who write about and research into child sexual abuse.	25) As with any fashion in medicine, child sexual abuse attracts the 'cranks', the 'quacks' and the merely 'incompetent'	38) It is perfectly possible to develop a definition of child sexual abuse, with which everyone could agree	29) One of the great benefits of the term child sexual abuse, is that it is simple enough for a child to understand and use	41) All children suffer from sexual abuse in the sense that the threat of it is always there	45) All oppressed groups are at risk of being treated as sexual objects by those in power children are no exception to this	9) Sexual abuse is often children's first experience of male power, but it is seldom their last	
	68) We should keep politics out of the battle against child sexual abuse.	53) Ultimately, the recognition of child sexual abuse is a task for medical diagnosis.	42) There is a lot of 'clap-trap' spoken about child sexual abuse.	30) Child sexual abuse would have a very different meaning in a society where it was considered natural and normal for adults and children to share sexual enjoyment.	57) Sex with children is an offence against nature.	36) By the year 2000, I expect a new social problem will have replaced child sexual abuse as a focus of public concern	47) Adult-child sexual activity has happened throughout history. All that differs is the extent to which, at any point in time, it is seen as 'desirable', 'sinful', 'normal', 'wrong' or just in 'bad taste'	43) A truly moral definition of child sexual abuse looks to the treatment and conditions of all the World's children	16) The way adults treat children as if they were possessions, contributes to the problem of child sexual abuse	
		52) The term sexual abuse should be restricted to indecent acts upon children	61) Child sexual abuse is in the 'eye of the beholder'.	34) Many so-called 'experts' in this area are turning children's suffering into ideological ammunition	60) Before opting for therapy of the sexually abused child we need to remind ourselves that often, in medicine, the treatment proves more harmful than the disease	39) Making parents frightened of being physically close to their children is not a way of reducing the risk of child sexual abuse, it is a form of abuse.	50) The development of the term child sexual abuse to bring together many forms of suffering has done a great deal to help children in our society.	58) Where men monopolise the power in a household, there is no hope of reducing the incidence of sexual abuse in the family.		
			66) Adults who have sex with children are best understood as simply perverted	46) Children can be much more damaged by our over reactions and anger to their being sexually abused, than by the abuse itself	62) For all the honeyed words of the paedophile lobby a child sexual abuser remains a pervert in my book.	48) A lot of the shock and horror expressed towards child sexual abuse is because people find the idea of childhood sexuality itself difficult to take	56) It is perfectly possible to have a society in which children are never sexually abused			
			69) There are many more pressing problems facing Britain today than that of child sexual abuse.	67) I have a sneaking sympathy with those prisoners who 'take the law into their own hands' with convicted child sexual abusers.	64) Child sexual abuse is not a 'thing' that happens to children, but a category society has created.	59) The ordinary sex play that goes on between children should not be mistaken for sexual abuse.	63) Every adult bears a responsibility when a child in their community has been sexually abused			
					65) Child sexual abusers have a psychological disorder requiring therapy.					

Standpoints on and Definitions of Child Sexual Abuse

Factor 2: A Social Constructionist/Children's Rights Approach

-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
57) Sex with children is an offence against nature.	66) Adults who have sex with children are best understood as simply perverted.	52) The term sexual abuse should be restricted to indecent acts upon children.	72) Many of those we call 'child sexual abusers' are doing little more than adding the practical side to sex education.	49) Fundamentally all forms of child sexual abuse boil down to misuse of power	19) Some instances of child sexual abuse are best made sense of as being symbolic, e.g. forms of religious ritual or political protest.	35) Whatever name we may call the adult client of a child prostitute, 'child abuser' is not the right one	45) All oppressed groups are at risk of being treated as sexual objects by those in power; children are no exception to this	10) The present social climate over child sexual abuse is similar to a witch-hunt in which large numbers of innocent people are bound to be wrongly accused, persecuted and punished	11) The moral panic about child sexual abuse runs the risk of making us shift our attention from the damage done by violence and neglect towards children	46) Children can be much more damaged by our over reactions and anger to their being sexually abused, than by the abuse itself
5) Child sexual abusers have an illness that requires medical management.	62) For all the honeyed words of the paedophile lobby a child sexual abuser remains a pervert in my book.	54) Child sexual abuse is a symptom of a decline in moral values.	63) Every adult bears a responsibility when a child in their community has been sexually abused.	9) Sexual abuse is often children's first experience of male power, but it is seldom their last.	31) The tradition of family secrecy should not be blamed when child sexual abuse escapes detection.	40) Governments find it more convenient to 'blame the individual' for child sexual abuse than to find the resources to tackle the heart of the problem	27) We should not allow crimes like rape and buggery to get hidden under the label of child sexual abuse.	43) A truly moral definition of child sexual abuse looks to the treatment and conditions of all the World's children.	17) Child sexual abuse is a political concept, the meaning of which alters according to how the rights and needs of children are defined	47) Adult-child sexual activity has happened throughout history. All that differs is the extent to which, at any point in time, it is seen as 'desirable', 'sinful', 'normal', 'wrong' or just in 'bad taste'
73) Child sexual abusers have a sickness of the soul, which needs spiritual help.	53) Ultimately, the recognition of child sexual abuse is a task for medical diagnosis.	38) It is perfectly possible to develop a definition of child sexual abuse, with which everyone could agree	29) One of the great benefits of the term child sexual abuse, is that it is simple enough for a child to understand and use.	13) For all our current concern about child sexual abuse, there has never been a better time than the present to be a child	33) I worry about the motives of those who write about and research into child sexual abuse.	26) Child sexual abuse is just one of many unpleasant demonstrations of the power that adults have over children	64) Child sexual abuse is not a 'thing' that happens to children, but a category society has created	34) Many so-called 'experts' in this area are turning children's suffering into ideological ammunition	37) An effective definition of child sexual abuse must draw upon notions of the child's basic human rights	60) Before opting for therapy of the sexually abused child we need to remind ourselves that often, in medicine, the treatment proves more harmful than the disease
	67) I have a sneaking sympathy with those prisoners who 'take the law into their own hands' with convicted child sexual abusers.	50) The development of the term child sexual abuse to bring together many forms of suffering has done a great deal to help children in our society.	58) Where men monopolise the power in a household, there is no hope of reducing the incidence of sexual abuse in the family.	2) What passes for ordinary family life in our society is in itself a sexually abusive experience.	8) Non-contact offences like 'flashing' at a youngster are not themselves forms of child sexual abuse.	14) Learning at the age of fourteen that your parents have arranged a marriage for you is sexually abusive	48) A lot of the shock and horror expressed towards child sexual abuse is because people find the idea of childhood sexuality itself difficult to take	32) There are many worse things that can happen to children than forming a sexual relationship with an adult.	25) As with any fadism in medicine, child sexual abuse attracts the 'cranks', the 'quacks' and the merely 'incompetent'	
	65) Child sexual abusers have a psychological disorder requiring therapy.	44) The rich and influential child sexual abuser has much the same chance of being successfully prosecuted as an abuser from the working classes.	12) Current practice over child sexual abuse reflects the concerns of social workers and other professionals to do what is best for children.	45) There is world of difference between adult-child and adult-adult sex.	7) As a society, we tend to turn our backs on and deny those facts about child sexual abuse we cannot bring ourselves to face.	6) Child sexual abuse would not thrive in a society that saw children as people with needs and wishes of their own	18) What is, and what is not, child sexual abuse can only be defined in terms of the effect upon the child.	39) Making parents frightened of being physically close to their children is not a way of reducing the risk of child sexual abuse, it is a form of abuse	42) There is a lot of 'clap-net' spoken about child sexual abuse	
		56) It is perfectly possible to have a society in which children are never sexually abused.	41) All children suffer from sexual abuse in the sense that the threat of it is always there.	3) Paedophilia is a moral disorder rather than a disease.	61) Child sexual abuse is in the 'eye of the beholder'.	28) The borderline between giving a child physical pleasure through body contact and sexual pleasure through body contact, is a difficult one to draw.	16) The way adults treat children as if they were possessions, contributes to the problem of child sexual abuse	59) The ordinary sex play that goes on between children should not be mistaken for sexual abuse.		
			55) The kind of education programmes designed to alert children to the risk of sexual abuse, instead of protecting them may simply destroy their childhood innocence	20) Those who most desire to punish child sexual abusers are those who most for such tendencies in themselves	24) Child sexual abusers are created by the social circumstances in which they have lived	4) Practices like circumcision (male and female) should be defined as forms of ritualistic abuse.	36) By the year 2000, I expect a new social problem will have replaced child sexual abuse as a focus of public concern			
			1) There are some acts towards children that are sexually abusive no matter what the context or the motivation.	51) The price of living in a free society should not be paid for in the currency of child sexual abuse	48) We should keep politics out of the battle against child sexual abuse	69) There are many more pressing problems facing Britain today than that of child sexual abuse	30) Child sexual abuse would have a very different meaning in a society where it was considered natural and normal for adults and children to share sexual enjoyment.			
					21) For the poor and neglected children of the world, a sexual relationship with an adult is a small price to pay for being looked after					

Standpoints on and Definitions of Child Sexual Abuse

Factor 3: Childhood Sexuality

-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
2) What passes for ordinary family life in our society is in itself a sexually abusive experience.	21) For the poor and neglected children of the world, a sexual relationship with an adult is a small price to pay for being looked after.	3) Paedophilia is a moral disorder rather than a disease.	9) Sexual abuse is often children's first experience of male power, but it is seldom their last.	6) Child sexual abuse would not thrive in a society that saw children as people with needs and wishes of their own.	8) Non-contact offences like 'flashing' at a youngster are not themselves forms of child sexual abuse.	16) The way adults treat children as if they were possessions, contributes to the problem of child sexual abuse.	4) Practices like circumcision (male and female) should be defined as forms of ritualistic abuse.	1) There are some as it is towards children that are sexually abusive no matter what the context or the motivation.	40) Governments find it more convenient to blame the individual for child sexual abuse than to find the resources to tackle the heart of the problem.	26) Child sexual abuse is just one of many unpleasant demonstrations of the power that adults have over children.
64) Child sexual abuse is not a 'thing' that happens to children, but a category society has created.	22) Many of those we call 'child sexual abusers' are doing little more than adding the practical side to sex education.	12) Current practice over child sexual abuse reflects the concerns of social workers and other professionals to do what is best for children.	10) The present social climate over child sexual abuse is similar to a witch-hunt in which large numbers of innocent people are bound to be wrongly accused, persecuted and punished.	13) For all our current concern about child sexual abuse, there has never been a better time than the present to be a child.	17) Child sexual abuse is a political concept, the meaning of which alters according to how the rights and needs of children are defined.	25) As with any fashion in medicine, child sexual abuse attracts the 'cranks', the 'quacks' and the merely 'incompetent'.	5) Child sexual abusers have an illness that requires medical management.	27) We should not allow crimes like rape and buggery to get hidden under the label of 'child sexual abuse'.	46) Children can be much more damaged by our over reactions and anger to their being sexually abused, than by the abuse itself.	30) Child sexual abuse would have a very different meaning in a society where it was considered natural and normal for adults and children to share sexual enjoyment.
69) There are many more pressing problems facing Britain today than that of child sexual abuse.	28) The borderline between giving a child physical pleasure through body contact and sexual pleasure through body contact, is a difficult one to draw.	41) All children suffer from sexual abuse in the sense that the threat of it is always there.	11) The moral panic about child sexual abuse runs the risk of making us shift our attention from the damage done by violence and neglect towards children.	14) Learning at the age of fourteen that your parents have arranged a marriage for you is sexually abusive.	32) There are many worse things that can happen to children than forming a sexual relationship with an adult.	39) Making parents frightened of being physically close to their children is not a way of reducing the risk of child sexual abuse. It is a form of abuse.	7) As a society, we tend to turn our backs on and deny those facts about child sexual abuse we cannot bring ourselves to face.	29) One of the great benefits of the term child sexual abuse, is that it is simple enough for a child to understand and use.	48) A lot of the shock and horror expressed towards child sexual abuse is because people find the idea of childhood sexuality itself difficult to take.	51) The price of living in a free society should not be paid for in the currency of child sexual abuse.
	33) I worry about the motives of those who write about and research into child sexual abuse.	52) The term sexual abuse should be restricted to indecent acts upon children.	15) There is world of difference between adult-child and adult-adult sex.	19) Some instances of child sexual abuse are best made sense of as being symbolic, e.g. forms of religious ritual or political protest.	34) Many so-called 'experts' in this area are turning children's suffering into ideological ammunition.	42) There is a lot of 'clap-trap' spoken about child sexual abuse.	18) What is, and what is not, child sexual abuse can only be defined in terms of the effect upon the child.	37) An effective definition of child sexual abuse must draw upon notions of the child's basic human rights.	50) The development of the term child sexual abuse to bring together many forms of suffering has done a great deal to help children in our society.	
	35) Whatever name we may call the adult client of a child prostitute, 'child abuser' is not the right one.	58) Where men monopolise the power in a household, there is no hope of reducing the incidence of sexual abuse in the family.	20) Those who most desire to punish child sexual abusers are those who most fear such tendencies in themselves.	43) A truly moral definition of child sexual abuse looks to the treatment and conditions of all the World's children.	38) It is perfectly possible to develop a definition of child sexual abuse, with which everyone could agree.	44) The rich and influential child sexual abuser has much the same chance of being successfully prosecuted as an abuser from the working classes.	23) Child sexual abusers have a sickness of the soul, which needs spiritual help.	53) Ultimately, the recognition of child sexual abuse is a task for medical diagnosis.	65) Child sexual abusers have a psychological disorder requiring therapy.	
		63) Every adult bears a responsibility when a child in their community has been sexually abused.	31) The tradition of family secrecy should not be blamed when child sexual abuse escapes detection.	45) All oppressed groups are at risk of being treated as sexual objects by those in power children are no exception to this.	47) Adult-child sexual activity has happened throughout history. All that differs is the extent to which, at any point in time, it is seen as 'desirable', 'sinful', 'normal', 'wrong' or just in 'bad taste'.	67) I have a sneaking sympathy with those prisoners who 'take the law into their own hands' with convicted child sexual abusers.	24) Child sexual abusers are created by the social circumstances in which they have lived.	59) The ordinary sex play that goes on between children should not be mistaken for sexual abuse.		
			56) It is perfectly possible to have a society in which children are never sexually abused.	36) By the year 2000, I expect a new social problem will have replaced child sexual abuse as a focus of public concern.	57) Sex with children is an offence against nature.	60) Before opting for therapy of the sexually abused child we need to remind ourselves that often, in medicine, the treatment proves more harmful than the disease.	54) Child sexual abuse is a symptom of a decline in moral values.			
			61) Child sexual abuse is in the 'eye of the beholder'.	66) Adults who have sex with children are best understood as simply perverted.	62) For all the honeyed words of the paedophile lobby a child sexual abuser remains a pervert in my book.	55) The kind of education programmes designed to alert children to the risk of sexual abuse, instead of protecting them may simply destroy their childhood innocence.	49) Fundamentally all forms of child sexual abuse boil down to misuse of power.			
					68) We should keep politics out of the battle against child sexual abuse.					

Social Policy and General Approaches to Child Sexual Abuse

Factor 2: A 'Libertarian' Policy on Child Sexual Abuse

-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
9) Increasing the likelihood of detection and giving the severest of punishments on conviction are the surest means to stamp out child sexual abuse.	12) To reduce child sexual abuse, social and child care workers need more powers not fewer.	11) To tackle the problem of child sexual abuse we need less talk and more action.	37) Adequate, appropriate sex education is an important contribution in the fight against child sexual abuse.	55) In a free society, even the worst kind of child sexual abuser has the right to become a parent.	60) In the child sexual abuse debate we need to separate the pin from the sinner.	51) There is no merit to the idea of keeping a register of potential child sexual abusers.	62) It is never too early to begin to teach our children to detect and protect themselves from potentially dangerous adults.	36) Those parents wrongly accused of child sexual abuse should be entitled to adequate compensation to enable them to rebuild their families and their lives.	23) To reduce child sexual abuse we need to define and establish, in law, a charter of children's rights.	56) We should encourage all children to trust their instincts as to whether an adult is 'safe' or not.
10) To tackle child sexual abuse we should give every child, as a right, access to a 'second family' to whom they can turn in times of trouble.	18) The BBC and IBA should use every opportunity to achieve a massive public campaign of education about child sexual abuse.	17) Reasserting the so-called 'virtues of traditional family life' will do nothing to reduce the incidence of child sexual abuse.	22) The courts are the right place to decide on issues to do with the future of sexually abused children.	65) Giving a boy a non-sexist upbringing is the best way a parent can protect the little girls of tomorrow.	61) In expecting people to provide therapeutic help to child sexual abusers we need to be aware that few can withstand such contact, without their own sexuality being affected.	59) Mothers need to be constantly on their guard against encouraging their daughters into ways of behaving that may be misunderstood by men.	2) We should allow young people to consent to sex once they understand all that is involved.	68) We need to promote a policy where children are given the opportunity to learn that their bodies are their property, and that nobody has the right to touch them in ways they do not like.	50) We need to get away from the idea that sex between people of different generations is wrong.	53) If we do not treat child sexual abusers as human they will act as less than humans and continue to abuse.
58) Convicted child sexual abusers should be forced to wear some visible form of identification.	24) Everybody should be obliged, by law, to report child sexual abuse if they suspect it.	40) We should strive to re-educate parents from immigrant cultures that continue with practices like female genital mutilation (female circumcision).	26) Resources should be allocated to make psychological counseling and therapy freely available on the NHS to help those adults who were sexually abused as children.	66) Girls should be taught to value their virginity, that way they will fight harder to keep it.	8) More than anything, to reduce child sexual abuse we need a fundamental change in social attitudes.	67) Those whose work brings them into contact with children should be 'positively vetted', to be sure that nobody with a 'sketchy' in the cupboard is given the chance to sexually abuse our children.	4) All children should receive a compulsory school medical examination each year that is sufficiently thorough to detect sexual abuse.	21) Sexually abused children who wish to stay with their families should not be forced to be separated from them.	42) Our policies about child sexual abuse need to strike the right balance between protecting children and preserving family privacy.	19) The best way to reduce child sexual abuse is to increase children's powers over their own lives.
	38) People like doctors, priests and lawyers must be prepared to share information about child sexual abuse with other professionals, even if this means breaking rules about confidentiality.	48) Children must be taught that 'no adult is safe'.	13) Convicted child sexual abusers should be shut away from the community for the rest of their natural lives.	1) We need the firm leadership that good example provides if we are to overcome the current surge of child sexual abuse.	14) Surgery offers the best and most permanent solution to the problem of child sexual abuse.	6) We need to put more resources into the treatment and counselling of child sexual abusers.	33) Trying to understand why sexual abusers offend is more likely to help us reduce child sexual abuse than is punishing them.	27) Current social policy over child sexual abuse has neither a good theory, nor a body of good evidence to guide it.	69) Fears about horrific possibilities like 'snuff movies' and satanic abuse must not be allowed to influence our approach to child sexual abuse as a whole.	
	41) Our social policy needs to define child sexual abuse in terms of infringements of children's human rights.	57) We should empower children, as soon as they are able, to be watchdogs over their families to minimise the risk of sexual abuse taking place.	15) Protecting children from sexual abuse would be better managed if we had a single agency in charge, rather than expecting professionals from different agencies (like police, health visitors and social workers) to work together.	16) We need to be very careful to ensure that professional material about child sexual abuse does not fall into the wrong hands.	43) It will never be possible to identify 'high risk families' effectively enough to make much of a dent in the child sexual abuse statistics.	34) Our present policies over child sexual abuse have the effect of punishing the young for the failings of their families and of society in general.	35) Whenever a parent passes the intimate care of their child on to someone else, they should keep in mind the risk of sexual abuse.	54) People who have sexually abused should be given every chance to sort themselves out and wipe the slate clean.	25) We should abolish some categories of 'child sexual abuse' by modifying certain of our laws, e.g. the 'age of consent'.	
		29) We need to put more resources into research on the causes of child sexual abuse.	20) We need to put more resources into the treatment and counselling of sexually abused children.	63) To reduce child sexual abuse in the family children must be taught that there is nothing wrong with 'telling on their parents'.	7) We need to approach the problem of child sexual abuse in as rational and scientific a way as possible.	46) Once children can look after their own intimate care (washing themselves, going to the toilet etc.) they should be left to do it for themselves.	49) In a free society even publications promoting paedophile ideas must be permitted.	5) Policy over child sexual abuse needs to accept that psychologically children are far tougher and more resilient than is generally recognised.		
			31) We should be prepared to censor out from books, films, newspapers, radio and television any material which might stimulate potential child sexual abusers.	64) Child sexual abusers who infect their victims with the HIV virus should expect to find themselves on trial for their lives.	28) To hope that a single policy can reduce child sexual abuse is as pointless as expecting a single treatment to cure a boil, a broken leg and a 'breakdown'.	52) Help should be given to families where sexual abuse has taken place to restore healthy functioning.	3) A major key to improving the way we tackle child sexual abuse is to ensure that everybody who works in this area is properly trained.			
			39) We need to put more resources into research on the prevention of child sexual abuse.	30) Initiatives like 'Childline' can only help the sexually abused child if there are sufficient resources to meet the expectations they raise.	45) Public health campaigns (e.g. against smoking and drunken driving) show us the ways to reduce child sexual abuse and to make it even more socially unacceptable.	44) Any changes we make in child sexual abuse policy must build in proper safety nets to guard against wrongful and even malicious accusations.	32) The identification of child sexual abuse should never be based on medical diagnosis alone.			
					47) When adults and children fall in love, it is what they don't do and do that counts.					

Social Policy and General Approaches to Child Sexual Abuse

Factor 3: A 'Control and Protect' Response to Child Sexual Abuse

-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
49) In a free society even publications promoting paedophilic ideas must be permitted.	14) Surgery offers the best and most permanent solution to the problem of child sexual abuse.	66) Girls should be taught to value their virginity, that way they will fight harder to keep it	22) The courts are the right place to decide on issues to do with the future of sexually abused children	5) Policy over child sexual abuse needs to accept that psychologically children are far tougher and more resilient than is generally recognised.	36) Those parents wrongly accused of child sexual abuse should be entitled to adequate compensation to enable them to rebuild their families and their lives	34) Our present policies over child sexual abuse have the effect of punishing the young for the failings of their families and of society in general	41) Our social policy needs to define child sexual abuse in terms of infringements of children's human rights	37) Adequate, appropriate sex education is an important contribution in the fight against child sexual abuse	56) We should encourage all children to trust their instincts as to whether an adult is 'safe' or not	68) We need to promote a policy where children are given the opportunity to learn that their bodies are their property, and that nobody has the right to touch them in ways they do not like
55) In a free society, even the worst kind of child sexual abuser has the right to become a parent.	4) All children should receive a compulsory school medical examination each year that is sufficiently thorough to detect sexual abuse.	51) There is no merit in the idea of keeping a register of potential child sexual abusers	53) If we do not treat child sexual abusers as human they will act as less than humans and continue to abuse	7) We need to approach the problem of child sexual abuse in as rational and scientific a way as possible	12) To reduce child sexual abuse, social and child care workers need more powers, not fewer.	23) To reduce child sexual abuse we need to define and establish, in law, a charter of children's rights.	62) It is never too early to begin to teach our children to detect and protect themselves from potentially dangerous adults.	28) To hope that a single policy can reduce child sexual abuse is as pointless as expecting a single treatment to cure a boil, a broken leg and a 'breakdown'	32) The identification of child sexual abuse should not be based on medical diagnosis alone	8) More than anything to reduce child sexual abuse we need a fundamental change in social attitudes
25) We should abolish some categories of 'child sexual abuse' by modifying certain of our laws, e.g. the 'age of consent'.	50) We need to get away from the idea that sex between people of different generations is wrong.	57) We should empower children, as soon as they are able, to be watch-dogs over their families to minimise the risk of sexual abuse taking place.	60) In the child sexual abuse debate we need to separate the sin from the sinner.	10) To tackle child sexual abuse we should give every child, as a right, access to a 'second family' to whom they can turn in times of trouble	58) Convicted child sexual abusers should be forced to wear some visible form of identification.	31) We should be prepared to censor out from books, films, newspapers, radio and television any material which might stimulate potential child sexual abusers	29) We need to put more resources into research on the causes of child sexual abuse	46) Once children can look after their own intimate care (washing themselves, going to the toilet etc.) they should be left to do it for themselves	26) Resources should be allocated to make psychological counselling and therapy freely available on the NHS to help those adults who were sexually abused as children	17) Reasserting the so-called virtues of traditional family life, will do nothing to reduce the incidence of child sexual abuse
	54) People who have sexually abused should be given every chance to run themselves out and wipe the slate clean.	47) When adults and children fall in love, it is what they don't do and do that counts.	1) We need the firm leadership that good example provides if we are to overcome the current surge of child sexual abuse	11) To tackle the problem of child sexual abuse we need less talk and more action	42) Our policies about child sexual abuse need to strike the right balance between protecting children and preserving family privacy.	18) The BBC and IBA should use every opportunity to achieve a massive public campaign of education about child sexual abuse	43) It will never be possible to identify 'high risk families' effectively enough to make much of a dent in the child sexual abuse statistics	9) Increasing the likelihood of detection and giving the severest of punishments on conviction are the surest means to stamp out child sexual abuse	19) The best way to reduce child sexual abuse is to increase children's powers over their own lives	
	59) Mothers need to be constantly on their guard against encouraging their daughters into ways of behaving that may be misunderstood by men.	2) We should allow young people to consent to sex once they understand all that is involved	52) Help should be given to families where sexual abuse has taken place to restore healthy functioning	44) Any changes we make in child sexual abuse policy must build in proper safety nets to guard against wrongful and even malicious accusations	13) Convicted child sexual abusers should be shut away from the community for the rest of their natural lives.	61) In expecting people to provide therapeutic help to child sexual abusers we need to be aware that few can withstand such contact, without their own sexuality being affected	27) Current social policy over child sexual abuse has neither a good theory, nor a body of good evidence to guide it	30) Initiatives like 'Childline' can only help the sexually abused child if there are sufficient resources to meet the expectations they raise	20) We need to put more resources into the treatment and counselling of sexually abused children	
		15) Protecting children from sexual abuse would be better managed if we had a single agency in charge, rather than expecting professionals from different agencies (like police, health visitors and social workers) to work together.	45) Public health campaigns (e.g. against smoking and drunken driving) show, as the ways to reduce child sexual abuse and to make it even more socially unacceptable.	69) Fears about horrific possibilities like 'stuff movies' and satanic abuse must not be allowed to influence our approach to child sexual abuse as a whole.	16) We need to be very careful to ensure that professional external about child sexual abuse does not fall into the wrong hands.	38) People like doctors, priests and lawyers must be prepared to share information about child sexual abuse with other professionals, even if this means breaking rules about confidentiality.	67) Those whose work brings them into contact with children should be 'positively vetted', to be sure that nobody with a 'skeleton in the cupboard' is given the chance to sexually abuse our children	65) Giving a boy a non-sexist upbringing is the best way a parent can protect the little girls of tomorrow.		
			48) Children must be taught that 'no adult is safe'.	64) Child sexual abusers who infect their victims with the HIV virus should expect to find themselves on trial for their lives.	33) Trying to understand why sexual abusers offend is more likely to help us reduce child sexual abuse than is punishing them	39) We need to put more resources into research on the prevention of child sexual abuse	35) Whenever a parent passes the intimate care of their child on to someone else, they should keep in mind the risk of sexual abuse.			
			24) Everybody should be obliged, by law, to report child sexual abuse if they suspect it	31) A major key to improving the way we tackle child sexual abuse is to ensure that everybody who works in this area is properly trained.	6) We need to put more resources into the treatment and counselling of child sexual abusers	40) We should strive to re-educate parents from immigrant cultures that continue with practices like female genital mutilation (female circumcision)	63) To reduce child sexual abuse in the family children must be taught that there is nothing wrong with 'telling on their parents'.			
					21) Sexually abused children who wish to stay with their families should not be forced to be separated from them					

Social Policy and General Approaches to Child Sexual Abuse

Factor 14: A 'Liberal Humanist' Policy on Child Sexual Abuse

-5	-4	-3	-2	-1	0	+1	+2	+3	+4	+5
66) Girls should be taught to value their virginity, that way they will fight harder to keep it	14) Surgery offers the best and most permanent solution to the problem of child sexual abuse.	11) We need the firm leadership that good example provides if we are to overcome the current surge of child sexual abuse.	11) To tackle the problem of child sexual abuse we need less talk and more action	10) To tackle child sexual abuse we should give every child, as a right, access to a 'second family' to whom they can turn in times of trouble.	2) We should allow young people to consent to sex once they understand all that is involved.	21) Sexually abused children who wish to stay with their families should not be forced to be separated from them	28) To hope that a single policy can reduce child sexual abuse is as pointless as expecting a single treatment to cure a boil, a broken leg and a 'breakdown'	31) A major key to improving the way we tackle child sexual abuse is to ensure that everybody who works in this area is properly trained	17) Reasserting the so-called virtues of traditional family life, will do nothing to reduce the incidence of child sexual abuse	19) The best way to reduce child sexual abuse is to increase children's powers over their own lives
58) Convicted child sexual abusers should be forced to wear some visible form of identification.	13) Convicted child sexual abusers should be shut away from the community for the rest of their natural lives.	9) Increasing the likelihood of detection and giving the severest of punishments on conviction are the surest means to stamp out child sexual abuse	24) Everybody should be obliged, by law, to report child sexual abuse if they suspect it.	16) We need to be very careful to ensure that professional material about child sexual abuse does not fall into the wrong hands.	7) We need to approach the problem of child sexual abuse in as rational and scientific a way as possible.	34) Our present policies over child sexual abuse have the effect of punishing the young for the failings of their families and of society in general	30) Initiatives like 'Childline' can only help the sexually abused child if there are sufficient resources to meet the expectations they raise.	6) We need to put more resources into the treatment and counselling of child sexual abusers	20) We need to put more resources into the treatment and counselling of sexually abused children	41) Our social policy needs to define child sexual abuse in terms of infringements of children's human rights
64) Child sexual abusers who infect their victims with the HIV virus should expect to find themselves on trial for their lives.	5) Policy over child sexual abuse needs to accept that psychologically children are far tougher and more resilient than is generally recognised	22) The courts are the right place to decide on issues to do with the future of sexually abused children	35) Whenever a parent passes the intimate care of their child on to someone else, they should keep in mind the risk of sexual abuse.	18) The BBC and IBA should use every opportunity to achieve a massive public campaign of education about child sexual abuse.	12) To reduce child sexual abuse, social and child care workers need more powers, not fewer.	36) Those parents wrongly accused of child sexual abuse should be entitled to adequate compensation to enable them to rebuild their families and their lives	39) We need to put more resources into research on the prevention of child sexual abuse	8) More than anything, to reduce child sexual abuse we need a fundamental change in social attitudes	23) To reduce child sexual abuse we need to define and establish, in law, a charter of children's rights	68) We need to promote a policy where children are given the opportunity to learn that their leaders, are their property, and that nobody has the right to touch them in ways they do not like
	59) Mothers need to be constantly on their guard against encouraging their daughters into ways of behaving that may be misunderstood by men.	31) We should be prepared to censor out from books, films, newspapers, radio and television any material which might stimulate potential child sexual abusers.	38) People like doctors, priests and lawyers must be prepared to share information about child sexual abuse with other professionals, even if this means breaking rules about confidentiality.	51) There is no merit in the idea of keeping a register of potential child sexual abusers	15) Protecting children from sexual abuse would be better managed if we had a single agency in charge, rather than expecting professionals from different agencies (like police, health visitors and social workers) to work together.	40) We should strive to re-educate parents from immigrant cultures that continue with practices like female genital mutilation (female circumcision)	42) Our policies about child sexual abuse need to strike the right balance between protecting children and preserving family privacy.	26) Resources should be allocated to make psychological counselling and therapy freely available on the NHS to help those adults who were sexually abused as children	33) Trying to understand why sexual abusers offend is more likely to help us reduce child sexual abuse than is punishing them	
	4) All children should receive a compulsory school medical examination each year that is sufficiently thorough to detect sexual abuse	61) In expecting people to provide therapeutic help to child sexual abusers we need to be aware that few can withstand such contact, without their own sexuality being affected.	43) It will never be possible to identify 'high risk families' effectively enough to make much of a dent in the child sexual abuse statistics.	55) In a free society, even the worst kind of child sexual abuser has the right to become a parent	25) We should abolish some categories of 'child sexual abuse' by modifying certain of our laws, e.g. the age of consent.	44) Any changes we make in child sexual abuse policy must build in proper safety nets to guard against wrongful and even malicious accusations.	52) Help should be given to families where sexual abuse has taken place to restore healthy functioning	29) We need to put more resources into research on the causes of child sexual abuse	37) Adequate, appropriate sex education is an important contribution in the fight against child sexual abuse	
		48) Children must be taught that 'no adult is safe'.	45) Public health campaigns (e.g. against smoking and drunken driving) show us the ways to reduce child sexual abuse and to make it even more socially unacceptable	57) We should empower children, as soon as they are able, to be watch-dogs over their families to minimise the risk of sexual abuse taking place	27) Current social policy over child sexual abuse has neither a good theory, nor a body of good evidence to guide it	50) We need to get away from the idea that sex between people of different generations is wrong.	53) If we do not treat child sexual abusers as human they will act as less than human and continue to abuse.	65) Giving a boy a non-severe upbringing is the best way a parent can protect the little girls of tomorrow.		
			49) In a free society even publications promoting paedophile ideas must be permitted	67) Those whose work brings them into contact with children should be 'positively vetted', to be sure that nobody with a 'skelton in the cupboard' is given the chance to sexually abuse our children	32) The identification of child sexual abuse should never be based on medical diagnosis alone.	60) In the child sexual abuse debate we need to separate the sin from the sinner.	54) People who have sexually abused should be given every chance to sort themselves out and wipe the slate clean			
			56) We should encourage all children to trust their instincts as to whether an adult is 'safe' or not	69) Fears about horrific possibilities like 'snuff movies' and satanic abuse must not be allowed to influence our approach to child sexual abuse as a whole.	46) Once children can look after their own intimate care (washing themselves, going to the toilet etc.) they should be left to do it for themselves.	63) To reduce child sexual abuse in the family children must be taught that there is nothing wrong with 'telling on their parents'	62) It is never too early to begin to teach our children to detect and protect themselves from potentially dangerous adults			
					47) When adults and children fall in love, it is what they don't do and do that counts.					

Appendix XII

**Examples of comments provided in the free response
booklets**

9)	The ways our schools have handled the sex education of the present generation of parents is a factor in the sexual abuse we see today.	Today we see sexual abuse which existed always but remained undetected before. What is the meaning of 'the ways our schools have handled the sex education'?
10)	The motivations for the sexual abuse of children are very different from the reasons why people physically abuse or neglect them.	For the great majority of cases YES.
11)	Sexually abusing children is a sign of a psychiatric illness requiring medical or psychological treatment.	For the majority of cases of perpetrators.
12)	Having access to pornographic magazines and videos makes people less likely to sexually abuse children.	I should think exactly the opposite is true. Usually people watch pornographic material to get arousal or sexual satisfaction but not 'instead of'. Few regular users of such material would admit that this is their only way to sexually perform.
13)	I suspect that the sexual abuse of animals and the sexual abuse of young children have very similar explanations.	If the perpetrator needs sexual satisfaction which s/he cannot find in a more orthodox way animals and children present the easy option: their consent is not necessary.
14)	A society that encourages little girls to buy make-up, uses them to sell jeans, and offers them role models like 'Madonna' stimulates the sexual abuse of girls.	True.
15)	Societies that live 'close to nature' may not enjoy some of the so-called benefits of modern civilization, but neither do they have the problem of child sexual abuse.	How do we know this? The same was said about our society until 20 years ago.
16)	Women who <u>do not</u> report the sexual abuse of their children, are often so dependent on the man that they are prepared to pay any price to keep him from leaving.	This is the case very of-ten- in my experience.

33) For some people, children are sexually alluring because they are 'forbidden fruit'. - no.

34) To be able to make sense of an incident of child sexual abuse we first need to know the gender of the victim and of the abuser. - not necessarily.

35) Sexual abuse seldom happens in families without the collusion of other family members. - not necessarily.

36) Immature animals are frequently used sexually by older, more experienced animals, we should not be surprised to find the same going on with human animals. - no we shouldn't but it doesn't make it acceptable.

37) Child sexual abuse is less common in societies that are open about sex. - not true.

38) It is helpful to look at child sexual abuse as a symptom of an underlying personal problem or crisis in the abuser. - only if we want to try + ^{drive} rational the behaviour + preserve the abuser to the 'sick' role.

39) If only we could rap the potential child sexual abuser across the knuckles the moment their hands start wandering, we would have a lot less sexual abuse. - rubbish.

40) Adults have the need to express themselves in sexual relationships; sexual abuse may occur if an individual is unable to meet such needs in more conventional ways. - that may be true - but it is only one part of the explanation.

-
- 25) The more we bring up children to please adults, the more we make them vulnerable to adult demands for sex.
-

Yes (lack of power)

-
- 26) I accept the notion that child sexual abuse can be an unconscious expression of anger.
-

Sometimes

-
- 27) Working mothers, by their absence, create the opportunity for child sexual abuse.
-

No

-
- 28) Child sexual abuse is a habit that Britons have caught from contact with the practices of other culture and societies.
-

No! (strange idea)

-
- 29) Some people are 'turned on' by rubberwear, some by silk lingerie and some by children. The reasons for all three are much the same.
-

Yes, but don't justify it.

-
- 30) There is no reason why a child victim of sexual abuse should go on to become a child sexual abuser themselves.
-

It appears they do without a great deal of help

-
- 31) We need to recognise that the forces of evil may lie behind some of the more perverted forms of child sexual abuse.
-

Sometimes, hard to be sure at present.

-
- 32) The reasons for sex between an adult and an adolescent are very different from the reasons for sex between an adult and a small child.
-

Yes, possibly, but still not valid.

-
- 25) As with any fashion in medicine, child sexual abuse attracts the 'cranks', the 'quacks' and the merely 'incompetent'.

This is a most
difficult problem to solve
& need the best brain.

-
- 26) Child sexual abuse is just one of many unpleasant demonstrations of the power that adults have over children.

Getting off the subject

-
- 27) We should not allow crimes like rape and buggery to get hidden under the label of child sexual abuse.

This need sorting out.

-
- 28) The borderline between giving a child *physical* pleasure through body contact and *sexual* pleasure through body contact, is a difficult one to draw.

Disagree very strongly

-
- 29) One of the great benefits of the term child sexual abuse, is that it is simple enough for a child to understand and use.

Agree

-
- 30) Child sexual abuse would have a very different meaning in a society where it was considered natural and normal for adults and children to share sexual enjoyment.

Rubbish

-
- 31) The tradition of family secrecy should not be blamed when child sexual abuse escapes detection.

Don't understand
properly

-
- 32) There are many worse things that can happen to children than forming a sexual relationship with an adult.

Don't agree

There are some acts towards children that are sexually abusive no matter what the context or the motivation.

Raping a child (insertion of penis in vagina/anus) must be abusive.

- 2) What passes for ordinary family life in our society is in itself a sexually abusive experience.

- 3) Paedophilia is a moral disorder rather than a disease.

- 4) Practices like circumcision (male and female) should be defined as forms of ritualistic abuse.

These are ~~conventions~~ things which adults do to children against their wills.

- 5) Child sexual abusers have an illness that requires medical management.

- 6) Child sexual abuse would not thrive in a society that saw children as people with needs and wishes of their own.

Children are people in their own right, not property extensions of adults.

- 7) As a society, we tend to turn our backs on and deny those facts about child sexual abuse we cannot bring ourselves to face.

For many years child abuse was taboo and many children suffered in silence.

- 8) Non-contact offences like 'flashing' at a youngster are not themselves forms of child sexual abuse.

Child sexual abuse depends upon the effect on the child.

-
- 23) To reduce child sexual abuse we need to define and establish, in law, a charter of children's rights.

-
- 24) Everybody should be obliged, by law, to report child sexual abuse if they suspect it.

Again, I'm concerned here that a legal ~~action~~ is a knee-jerk response in C.S.A. and does not always have the child's best interests at heart

-
- 25) We should abolish some categories of 'child sexual abuse' by modifying certain of our laws, e.g. the 'age of consent'.

-
- 26) Resources should be allocated to make psychological counselling and therapy freely available on the NHS to help those adults who were sexually abused as children.

-
- 27) Current social policy over child sexual abuse has neither a good theory, nor a body of good evidence to guide it.

There are plenty of good theories + evidence around - it's just that social policy either ignores C.S.A. or attributes it to a paedophile out-group.

-
- 28) To hope that a single policy can reduce child sexual abuse is as pointless as expecting a single treatment to cure a boil, a broken leg and a 'breakdown'.
-

- 64) Child sexual abusers who infect their victims with the HIV virus should expect to find themselves on trial for their lives.

yes.

- 65) Giving a boy a non-sexist upbringing is the best way a parent can protect the little girls of tomorrow.

- 66) Girls should be taught to value their virginity, (that way they will fight harder to keep it.)

I agree with
the first part of
his statement.

- 67) Those whose work brings them into contact with children should be 'positively vetted', to be sure that nobody with a 'skeleton in the cupboard' is given the chance to sexually abuse our children.

yes

- 68) We need to promote a policy where children are given the opportunity to learn that their bodies are their property, and that nobody has the right to touch them in ways they do not like.

- 69) Fears about horrific possibilities like 'snuff movies' and satanic abuse must not be allowed to influence our approach to child sexual abuse as a whole.

-
- 54) People who have sexually abused should be given every chance to sort themselves out and wipe the slate clean.

Yes, agree

-
- 55) In a free society, even the worst kind of child sexual abuser has the right to become a parent.

Don't understand the idea behind this point

-
- 56) We should encourage all children to trust their instincts as to whether an adult is 'safe' or not.

Can we?

-
- 57) We should empower children, as soon as they are able, to be watchdogs over their families to minimise the risk of sexual abuse taking place.

Unsure

-
- 58) Convicted child sexual abusers should be forced to wear some visible form of identification.

No, that would be persecution

Appendix XIII

**Newsletter that was returned with Participant 68's
completed response grid**

Paedophilia

-- Children are scared: "I don't want my parents to find out about it."

Within the NVSH there are a lot of different views about paedophilia. Some people think it simply ought to be accepted, while others find the thought alone horrifying. But what we all agree on is that we have to be able to talk with each other about it, that it must be studied. That we have to educate and enlighten. That people who ask for help must be given that help. Not just people who have had (or wish to have) sexual contacts with children, but also parents and others who care for children. And, of course, the children themselves.

These were the thoughts out of which the paedophile task force of the NVSH was formed.

The purpose of this task force is the emancipation of paedophilia (= sexual activity between adults and children).

Paedophile relationships are often subject to the pressures of anxiety, condemnation and rejection. We consider these unnecessary hindrances which often obscure what really goes on in such a relationship. There is no space here to go into this in great detail, but we will make a few observations nevertheless: when we think of children we conceive of them as "innocent", and thus victims, as "asexual" and thus seduced, incapable of "sexual initiative," and thus tricked.

When we talk about paedophilia we are also talking about sex. But we must realise that in many friendships in which paedophilia is involved there are other aspects such as warmth, responsibility, pleasure, caring for one another. Anyone who thinks deeply about paedophilia cannot ultimately avoid considering the position of children in society and the family; part of the problematic of paedophilia is connected to the child's position as a minor.

What does the paedophile task force do?

Help and Receiving

People come to us who find themselves in conflict with their social surroundings or themselves and are upset. Members of the task force in the Infocentrum talk with them; sometimes we refer them for psycho-social assistance (in certain situations give workers in such institutions advice). People also come to us who are in trouble with the law. We can refer them to a good lawyer.

Information and Enlightenment

Every third Tuesday of the month the task force holds an Open Evening in our building on the Blaauwburgwal. Anyone who wishes information or simply wants to get to know others there is welcome. In co-operation with the task force for education and enlightenment, we give information to groups and institutions. We also take part in demonstrations of an emancipatory nature.

Theme and Discussion Evenings

The task force organises theme and discussion evenings at which we go deeper into various aspects of paedophilia. Further information about these can be obtained at the Infocentrum.

Appendix XIV

'Andrew's' initial letter making contact

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Dear Dr [REDACTED]

I am most grateful to Dr [REDACTED] for contacting you in connection with my out-of-the-blue letter to him of 23rd January on the subject of child sexual abuse, with particular emphasis on relationships which, although having a sexual element, do not, in reality, amount to abuse.

Some say that public opinion is not much influenced by facts - instead prejudice and received opinions take all. I like to think that that is a pessimistic view, and believe that there is a subject here which, however unpopular, requires a balanced evaluation.

I sent a reprint of an article to Dr [REDACTED] written by the distinguished lawyer and parliamentarian, Dr Edward Brongersma, which carries the title, 'A Defence of Sexual Liberty for All Age Groups'. I had the considerable task of editing Brongersma's article into a form that was acceptable to the editors of the Howard Journal of Criminal Justice. A copy is enclosed, and I hope you will find it of interest.

I have a good deal of written material, oldish and new, that bears on this subject. If you would like me to show it to you, in case there are items here and there that you are not familiar with, I would be delighted to co-operate.

In any case, I would welcome a meeting. I asked Dr [REDACTED] if he would allow me to invite him to a modest lunch, and now warmly transfer that invitation to you. It is not a great distance to [REDACTED]. Of course, if you prefer it, we could meet in London. And it can be with or without lunch - whatever you say.

I hope I may have the pleasure of hearing from you.

Yours sincerely

C. A. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

Appendix 15

Examples of correspondence

Dear

Re: Research into explanations for and understandings of child sexual abuse

Before I begin, may I thank you for your interest in my research and for taking the time and trouble to contact me to this effect.

I am currently studying the ways in which different people understand and make sense of child sexual abuse, their beliefs about its cause and what we should do to tackle it. I have three main aims in this research. The first is simply to gain a better understanding of the range of ideas, beliefs and attitudes people have; the second is more specifically to explore whether there are any differences between people from different backgrounds and professions (and to see how these may affect practice and create problems for working together); and third is to compare and contrast the beliefs, ideas and attitudes of 'ordinary people' and professionals, with the justifications, rationalisations and accounts offered by sexual abusers themselves to justify their actions.

You mentioned in your letter that you would like to complete a Q sort, thank you for this generous offer, but before you commit yourself, I should outline more of what you are letting yourself in for. I will be honest in that I believe these topics are very complex, and hence need to be studied using quite sophisticated techniques. So the tasks I am asking participants to undertake are demanding and time-consuming, but open to anyone who is interested, whatever their educational or professional background.

As you will see (from the Q-sorts included, because I want to look at the links and distinctions between different areas of thinking, there are three different Q-sorts to be completed. Each Q-sort usually takes about an hour, or so, per sort to do (although people usually find that the first Q-sort takes the longest – about an hour – and subsequent Q sorts take a lot less time). Also, if you have the time, you are invited to provide some open-ended written comments too. So all told I am asking a lot – and know it – about three to four hours of your time (although this can be split into smaller units and spread over a number of days.

I fully understand if you are too busy to right now to help me, in which case I would appreciate the speedy return of materials, using the address label provided which needs no stamp.

If, after all this!, you are able to help me (by completing a Q-sort yourself and/or arranging for a number of others to take part in the research) I would be most grateful as it is a lot to ask people to do, and yet I am totally reliant on the kindness and goodwill of people like yourself.

If you decide to do the Q-sort, please return your completed response grids on or before

May I at this stage be quite cheeky and ask if you know of any one (friends colleagues etc.) who may be interested in completing a Q-sort?. The q-sorting 'process' can be tailored to suit the needs of those taking part, e.g. in a training or groupwork setting, or with individuals in the privacy of their own home with or without me being present and so on.

Thanks again for your letter

Best wishes

Marcia Worrell

Researcher



The Open University,
Walton Hall,
Milton Keynes,
MK7 6AA

Telephone: (0908) 274066

Direct Line: (0908) 65

Telex: 825061

Fax: (0908) 653744

Department of Health and Social Welfare

Professor Malcolm L. Johnson
Director

[REDACTED]
East Oxford Health Centre
Cowley Road
Oxford

Dear Ms :

A colleague of mine, Marcia Worrell is doing research on beliefs about child abuse. She is interviewing a group of people in an informal way, all well controlled and non-threatening, and is keen to include groups of nurses. If you could get such a group together, it would only take about an hour.

Could you please contact Marcia direct on [REDACTED] or at the Open University on 0908 653244.

Many thanks.

Yours sincerely

P. J. [REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
Lecturer in Nursing



WEST
YORKSHIRE
POLICE

ir Ref:

Ref: C11/KL/JAB

CRIMINAL INVESTIGATION DEPARTMENT
P.O. BOX 9, WAKEFIELD WF1 3QP
Telephone: Wakefield (0924) 375222, Extension 22388

Direct Line: Wakefield (0924) [REDACTED]

Dear Wendy and Marcia

Just a line to let you know that I have so far arranged two of the three group interviews for 10/11 May 1990:-

Thursday 2.00pm : Police Training School
Bishopgarth
Wakefield
POLICE OFFICERS

Friday 10.00am : NSPCC
10 Woodhouse Square
Leeds
SOCIAL WORKERS/MULTI-AGENCY

Friday 2.00pm : MEDICAL GROUP - to be finalised

I have written to all the Leeds Social Service area offices and they will be nominating one member from each of the 10 Units and 4 NSPCC teams will also be supplying one member.

All the police staff will be from the specialist teams throughout the county.

Unfortunately Jane Wynne is on sick leave for 2 months as a result of a back operation so I am trying to organise a meeting through Chris Hobbs.

If the arrangements are acceptable, subject to confirmation, I would suggest you travel up on Thursday morning and have lunch with us at the Training School before the afternoon session. I can sort out a hotel in Wakefield if you wish a little nearer the date.

Don't hesitate to give me a ring at home in the evening on [REDACTED] if you want to change any of the above.

Kindest regards

[REDACTED]
[REDACTED]
Detective Inspector
Domestic Violence and Child Abuse
Inter-Agency Training

Dr Marcia Correll,
Queen University Dept. of Health & Social Welfare,
Kelton Hall,
Milton Keynes,
MK7 6 AA

Dear Dr Correll,

Anna Mason of 'Grass Roots' wanted me to send you photocopies of the Terre Des Hommes Reports on genital mutilation, and I only have some of the work in French.

But I do hope that the enclosed are of service to you.

Unfortunately my bibliography is not up-to-date, and in the nature of it, could not include many recent European and African articles.

Particularly relevant is Asma' Dareer's research on the Sudan: the first really extensive piece of modern evidence, which has encouraged other African women to follow her example, in other countries.

For work of the Inter-African Committee which is really the organisation making special progress at present at the grass roots levels, one needs the News Letters from the President, Berhane Ras work, or from Margaretha Linnander, 147 rue de Lauzanne, CH- 1202, Geneva. They have much up-to-date evidence of the terrible suffering of children, and Margaretha rang me yesterday to say that a film was at present being made from 5 African countries.

Hansard, of course, has the debates which took place in the House of Lords before the Law was passed against mutilation in this country.

For information of suffering of children in this country over this practice, consult Efua Graham of Foundation for Women's Health Research and Development, 32 King Street, London EC 2E 8JT, and the Minority Rights Group.

With best wishes,
Yours sincerely,

[Redacted signature]

[Redacted signature]

Director of Social Services
Roger Mortimore

Haywards Heath
Area Office
Oaklands Oaklands Road
Haywards Heath
West Sussex RH16 1SU
Tel: Haywards Heath 453141

**west
sussex
county
council**

Area Manager
N D Perkins

If calling ask for

My reference

Your reference

INTAKE/CSB/MB

27 February 1991

Dear Ms Worrell

A colleague at this office, Chris Allen, has passed on to me your letter about your research into beliefs and attitudes to child sexual abuse. I am team leader of an Intake team in the area office and the four social workers in the team feel it would be an useful exercise for the group to participate in. If you feel that we could be of use to you in your project perhaps you could send me the relevant information.

Yours sincerely



Team Leader

Ms Worrell
The Open University
Walton Hall
MILTON KEYNES
MK7 6AA



memorandum



From Mrs A Tyler
Wing Tutor
HMP Grendon

Telephone

Extension

Date

Your reference

Our reference AT/PM

To [redacted]

Group Manager
G Wing
HMP Grendon

L c.c. [redacted] (for information)

VISIT OF MARCIA WORRELL, RESEARCH ASSISTANT, TO G WING ON

18.3.91.

8.45	-	9.45	Wing Meeting
10.00	-	11.30	Psycho-education (with A Tyler)
12.00	-	1.00	Any Questions
1.00	-	2.00	Working lunch with A Tyler
2.15	-	3.15	Informal group

Marcia is researching into child sexual abuse ^{at} ~~and~~ the Open University. She is using a similar statistical validation as is being used on Psycho-ed (hence the working lunch.). She would be very interested to see how G Wing operates its sex offender treatment programme.

[redacted]

[redacted]

LANCASTER
UNIVERSITY



Department of
Applied Social Science

MW/SAH

Marcia Worrell
Research Assistant,
Child Protection Unit,
Health & Social Welfare Department,
Open University,
Milton Keynes.

Dear Marcia Worrell,

I was interested to read about your research into sexual abuse using Q sorts and factor analysis. I am about to undertake some research into grave concern registration decisions and will be interviewing social workers and conference chair people. I am wondering whether your approach could be useful to me in this capacity. I would be glad to receive any information from you.

I would also be interested in completing a Q sort if I was eligible but if not I would like to see a blank copy or proforma of the data collection instruments for use if possible.

Yours sincerely,

[Redacted signature]

[Redacted name]

Teaching Fellow,
Post-Qualifying Diploma in Child Protection.